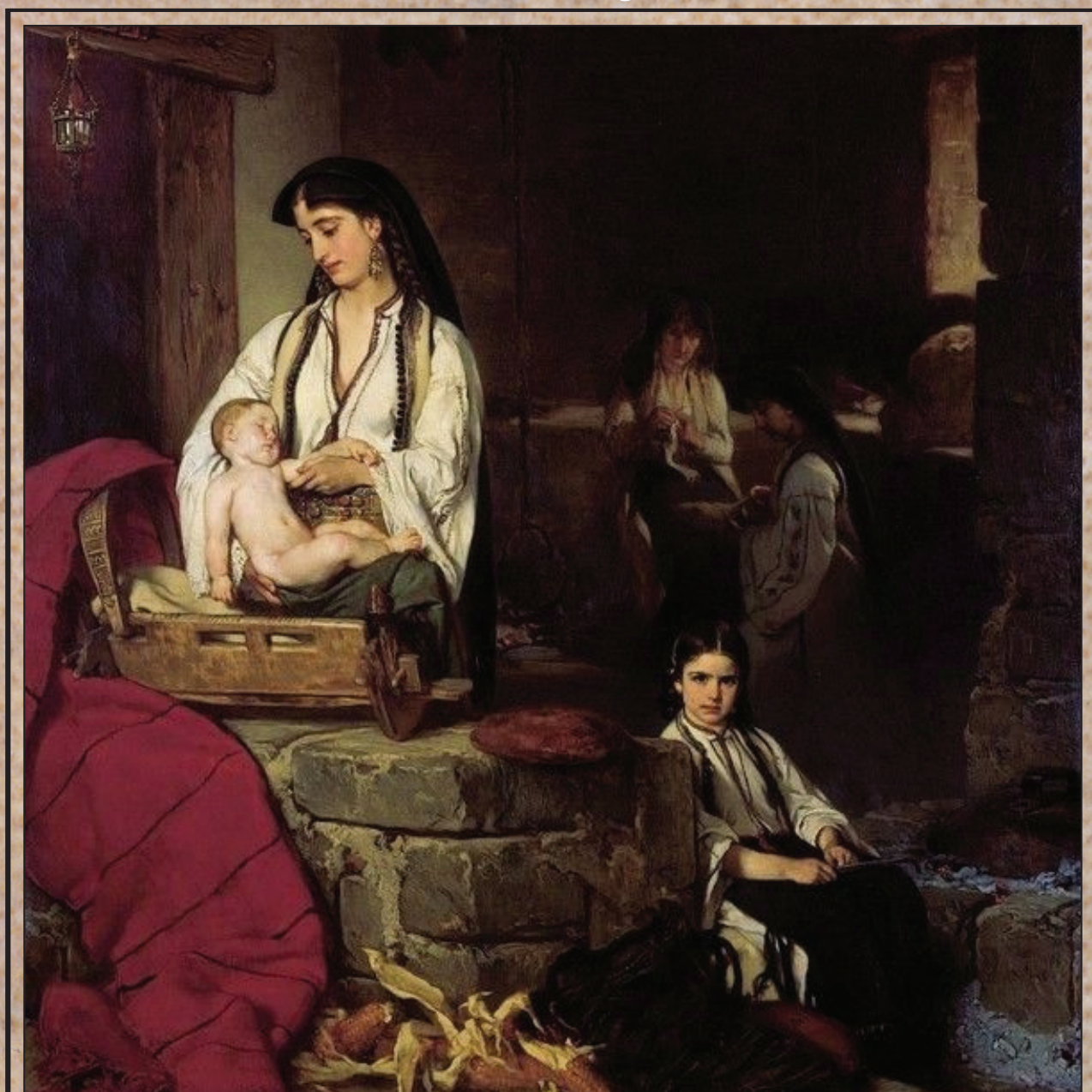


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LJUDSKA PESEM LEPA VIDA V KONTEKSTU SREDOZEMSKIH SORODNIC IN LJUDSKIH PESMI O KRALJEVIČU MARKU

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IZVLEČEK

V različnih variantah ohranjena ljudska pesem o Lepi Vidi ima z arhetipsko vsebino in s številnimi literarnimi predelavami od Prešerna naprej razsežnost mita, ki pomembno oblikuje kolektivni spomin Slovencev in se v njem razbirajo prvine slovenstva. Pričujoči prispevek predstavi vse variante ljudske družinske balade Lepa Vida. V njenem variantnem nizu se mlada mati-žena v dveh ihanskih variantah raje odloči za smrt, kot bi odšla z ugrabiteljem na tuje, zato sta ti varianti umeščeni v kontekst albansko-kalabrijsko-sicilskih balad o ugrabljeni mladi ženi-materi, ki prav tako tragično končajo. Variantni niz slovenske Lepe Vide prikazuje različne oblike izgnanstva mlade žene-matere, njeno ponovno vrnitev v razpadli dom, bivanje na tujem in s tem tudi upor proti tradiciji, v obeh variantah s tragičnim koncem pa mlada mati-žena najizraziteje varuje družino, dom in krščansko tradicijo. Ob opisu negativne semantike črnega zamorca in črnega Arabca je nakazana še povezava med Lepo Vido in izbranimi ljudskimi pesmimi o Kraljeviču Marku, v katerih le-ta rešuje mlade sužnje iz rok črnega Arabca.

Ključne besede: ljudska balada, Lepa Vida, Lepa Vida s tragičnim koncem, sredozemske balade o ugrabljeni ženi-materi, črn zamorec, črn Arabec, Kraljevič Marko

BALLATA POPOLARE 'BELLA VIDA' NEL CONTESTO DELLE PARENTI MEDITERRANEE E CANZONI POPOLARI SU PRINCIPE MARKO

SINTESI

Preservata in diverse varianti, la ballata popolare di Lepa Vida (La Bella Vida) con il suo contenuto archetipico e numerosi rifacimenti da Prešeren in poi ha assunto la dimensione di un mito che plasma in modo significativo la memoria collettiva degli sloveni e nel quale si rilevano gli elementi della slovenità. Il presente contributo espone tutte le varianti della ballata popolare familiare Lepa Vida. Nelle due versioni di Ihan la giovane madre-moglie preferisce la morte al lasciarsi portare all'estero dal suo rapitore, il che le colloca nel contesto delle ballate albanesi-calabresi-siciliane che parlano di una giovane moglie-madre rapita, anch'esse con una tragica fine. La serie di varianti di Lepa Vida slovena ritrae le varie forme di esilio della giovane moglie-madre, il ritorno nel suo paese dove ritrova la propria famiglia e la casa ormai distrutte, la sua permanenza all'estero e quindi anche la sua ribellione alla tradizione, mentre nelle due varianti con la fine tragica risalta l'immagine della giovane madre-moglie come protettrice della famiglia, della casa e della tradizione cristiana. La descrizione semantica negativa del moro e dell'Arabo nero suggerisce inoltre un collegamento tra Lepa Vida e certe canzoni popolari su Kraljevič Marko, nelle quali Marko salva giovani schiave dalle grinfie dell'Arabo nero.

Parole chiave: ballata popolare, Bella Vida, Bella Vida con fine tragica, ballate mediterranee sulla giovane moglie-madre rapita, moro, Arabo nero, Principe Marko

UVOD¹

Mitsko-simbolni kompleksi nastanejo v določenih skupnostih in so, kakor piše A. D. Smith (1999, 15), nujen pogoj za nastanek nacije. Skozi čas se spreminjajo, vendar predstavljajo pomembno vezivo etničnih in narodnih skupnosti (Knabel et al., 2008, 118). Kulturni in kolektivni spomin Slovencev skozi stoletja pomembno izgrajujeta ljudsko pesništvo in književnost. Ljudska pesem lahko dobi razsežnost mita. Alenka Goljevšček piše, da so mitski elementi v ljudskem pesništvu izraz kolektiva, nastajajo iz določene zgodovinske stvarnosti in učinkujejo tako, »da zgodovino pretvarjajo v naturo, zgodovinsko proizvedene odnose v kozmični zakon, jih na ta način stabilizirajo, opravičujejo in delajo za samoumevne. V tem smislu so vezani na čas in hkrati zunaj njega, so preteklost, ki ni pretekla« (Goljevšček, 1982, 198–199). Če se pojavi neka podobna kolektivna situacija, se mitski elementi v posameznih zgodovinskih obdobjih obnovijo in prodrejo tudi v književnost (Goljevšček, 1982, 199). Mitsko razsežnost lahko dobijo tiste ljudske pesmi, ki imajo zgodbo, s svojo vsebino ustrezajo narodu v določeni situaciji in preidejo v književnost. Narod tolažijo, mu dajejo upanje, opisujejo njegovo ujetost v zgodovini idr. Marjetka Golež Kaučič ugotavlja, da je ljudska balada Lepa Vida »prav zaradi svojega nenehnega obnavljanja zgodbe, preoblikovanja motiva dobila nadčasovne značilnosti slovenskega mita« (Golež Kaučič, 2003, 116). Številna literarna dela, v katera je vgrajen mit o Lepi Vidi na način predstavitve, predelave, dopolnjevanja ali razgrajevanja, pričajo o posebnem pomenu tega mita za slovensko narodno identiteto. V njem naj bi bile »skrite določene poteze, ravnanja in usodni obrati, značilni za slovenski narod in njegovo kolektivno dušo« (Poniž, 2006, 10), kot so npr. kompleks lepovidinskega hrepenenja, arhetip matere, arhetip ženske, domotožje, odnos do tradicije, odnos do Tujega in Drugega, tudi uporništvo.

Mit, ki se navzven občasno pokaže v različnih oblikah in vsaj deloma ujema z realno izkušnjo, ni le fiktivna nadgradnja realne izkušnje, temveč nujen del civilizacije in sestavni del vseh kultur (Malinowski, 1971, 91). Ostanki mita pronikajo tudi iz ljudskih balad, čeprav le-te izhajajo zmeraj iz konkretne izkušnje (Velikonja, 1996, 175). Duhovno sporočilo mita sega v globine človeške zavesti.

Mitološke razlage ljudske pesmi o Lepi Vidi povezujejo njenega ugrabitelja, črnega zamorca, s htoničnim bitjem, s silami zla (Kelemina, 1930; Šmitek, 2004). Spet drugi v ljudski baladi o Lepi Vidi prepoznava arhetipe velike matere, ženske, anime (Golež Kaučič, 2018), v njeni smrti tudi obliko obreda žrtvovanja (Šauperl, 2009) ali feminilno sočutje in vzpostavljanje prvotnega, kozmičnega reda (Škof, 2015, 2018).

VARIANTE LJUDSKE BALADE LEPA VIDA

Z ljudsko balado o Lepi Vidi so se ukvarjali že mnogi raziskovalci (Kelemina, 1930; Grafenauer, 1943; Pogačnik, 1988; Kumer, 1996, 2002; Golež Kaučič et al., 2007; Golež Kaučič, 2003, 2018, 2019; Šmitek, 2004; Avsenik Nabergoj, 2010; Šauperl, 2009; Škof, 2015, 2018 idr.). Ivan Grafenauer je v obsežni monografiji z naslovom Lepa Vida. Študija o izvoru, razvoju in razkroju narodne balade o Lepi Vidi (1943) razglasil za ljudsko pesem o Lepi Vidi pesem, osnovano na motivnem obrazcu ugrabljenih mlade žene-matere, ki jo črn zamorec (nevernik, pogan) zvabi na barko, iztrga otroku in družini ter odpelje v daljno, tujo deželo. Iz balade o Lepi Vidi je izločil vse pesmi z imenom Lepa Vida, ki nimajo motiva ugrabljenih mlade žene-matere po morskem roparju. Grafenauer je v svoji monografiji Lepa Vida natisnil tudi kočevsko nemške variante (Lepa Mare), vendar je bilo pozneje ugotovljeno, da so kočevski Nemci balado prevzeli od Slovencev in jo prevedli v svoje narečje (Kumer v Golež Kaučič et al., 2007, 86), Pavlinovićevo hrvaško² balado iz Zenice v Bosni (Grafenauer, 1943, 248) in albansko-kalabrijsko-sicilske³ balade o ugrabljeni ženi-materi po morskem roparju.

Družinska balada Lepa Vida se je ohranila v več zapisih in redakcijah iz različnih krajev. Grafenauer⁴ je v omenjeni monografiji natisnil vse dotlej dostopne variante in tekstno pomembnejše redakcije slovenske Lepe Vide. To so: Breznikov zapis iz Ihana, Kramarjev zapis iz Goričice pri Ihanu, Rudežev zapis iz Ribnice na Dolenjskem, Poznikov zapis iz Kroke, Maroltov zapis začetka škojeloške variante in zapis iz Hraš na Gorenjskem, za katerega se je pozneje izkazalo, da gre za ponaredek (Golež Kaučič et al., 2007, 76). Omenjene variante Lepe Vide so si precej podobne v prvem delu, v katerem Lepo Vido zamorec, nekristjan, pogan, tj. nevernik, na neki način zvabi na

1 Članek je rezultat raziskave v okviru projekta *Kultura spominjanja gradnikov slovenskega naroda in države* (ID J6-9354). Raziskavo finančno podpira Javna agencija za raziskovalno dejavnost RS. / This paper is the result of research carried out in the project *Cultural Memory of Slovene Nation and State Building*, funded by the Slovenian Research Agency (ARRS, Grant n.o. J6-9354).

2 Zmaga Kumer opozarja, da v tej pesmi ugrabitelj ni zamorec, morski ropar, ampak délija, konjenik (Kumer, 2002, 152).

3 To so: De Radova albanska Zogna Riin/Donna Irene/Gospa Irena in kalabrijska Donna Candia/Gospa Kandija, Algramatijev kalabrijski odlomek Donna Canfura/Gospa Canfura, Bruzzanova albanska varianta Ta bucurana/La bella/Lepa in sicilska Scibilia Nobili/Plemenita Scibilia (iz Marsala in Borgetta). V izvirniku, italijanskem in slovenskem prevodu jih je po Grafenauerjevi študiji ponatisnila in opisala tudi Irena Avsenik Nabergoj v svoji monografiji *Hrepenenje in skušnjava v svetu literature* (Avsenik Nabergoj, 2010, 351–381).

4 Grafenauer se je naslanjal na zapise pesmi iz Štrekljeve zbirke Slovenskih narodnih pesmi (Kumer, 2002, 45). V prvem zvezku te zbirke so pod zaporednimi številkami od 73 do 75 natisnjene le Prešernova priredba Lepe Vide iz Smoletove zbirke, Redakcija I iz Korytkove zbirke, Redakcija II iz Vrazove zbirke ter Poznikov zapis iz Kroke na Gorenjskem. Pod zaporednima številka 76 in 77 sta natisnjena tudi Vrazova zapisa pesmi Lepa Vida iz prekmurskega in vzhodnoštajerskega izročila, ki v svojem jedru nimata motiva o ugrabljeni mladi ženi-materi (Štrekelj, 1895, 124–133).

Lepa Vida. A.

73.

(Kranjska.)

Lepa Vida je pri morji stala,
 Tam na prodi si pelnice prala.
 Čern zamor'c po sivim morji pride,
 Barko vstavi, praša lepe Vide:
 5 „Zakaj, Vida! nisi tak' rudeča,
 Tak' rudeča nisi, tak' cveteča,
 Kakor ti si perve léta bila?“

Vida lepa je odgovorila:
 „Kak' bi bla rudeča in cveteča,
 10 Ker zadela mene je nesreča;
 Oh, domá bolno je moje dete,
 Poslušala sim neumne svete;
 Omožila sim se, starca vzela!

Slika 1: Začetek Lepe Vide (Vir: Štrekljeva zbirka Slovenske narodne pesmi, 1. zvezek, 1895, str. 124).

ladjo in jo odpelje, bolj pa se razlikujejo v delu, ki govori o usodi ugrabljenе žene (Grafenauer, 1943, 16). Glede na drugi del je Grafenauer ločil tri tipološke skupine variant Lepe Vide:

1. Lepa Vida s tragičnim koncem, ki je ohranjena v dveh variantah (Breznikova Lepa Vida iz Ihana in Kramarjeva Lepa Vida iz Goričice pri Ihanu). Lepa Vida pri morju pere plenice, črn zamorec jo zvijačno ugrabi z zdravilom/pomirjevalom za bolnega otroka. Ker ne želi postati sužnja ali priležnica črnemu zamorcu (neverniku, poganu), se odloči za samomor in v obeh ihanskih variantah skoči v morje.
2. Dolenjska tipološka skupina Lepe Vide z elegičnim koncem,⁵ v kateri črn zamorec odpelje Lepo Vido za dojljo na španski dvor. Tam ostane, vendar je nesrečna in se ji toži po domu. V primerjavi z ihansko kaže ta tipološka skupina pomembne razlike: a) odpade motiv zvijačne ugrabitve z zdravilom za otroka, saj Lepa Vida prostovoljno sprejme zamorčevo povabilo, vendar to takoj obžaluje, b) dodan je motiv pogovora s soncem in luno, c) motivu bolnega otroka se je pridružil še motiv starega moža, č) namesto tragičnega konca

5 Ohranila se je kot Rudeževa varianta, v obliki neznančevega rokopisa Od Vide in Prešernovega prepisa Lepa Vida. Po tej varianti je nastala Prešernova prepesnitev Od lepe Vide, objavljena v *Kranjski čbelici* 1832 (Grafenauer, 1943, 242).

6 Grafenauer je v to skupino uvrstil tudi Maroltovo varianto iz Hraš pri Lescah, v kateri se Lepa Vida z dovoljenjem zamorskega gospoda vrne po odraslega sina in z njim odpotuje na svoj novi dom. Vendar se je izkazalo, da je besedilo in zapis te pesmi zložil Marolt sam (Kumer v Golež Kaučič et al., 2007, 76).

— 94 —

2.

OD LEPE VIDE

Lepa Vida je pri morji stala,
 Tam na prodi si pelnize prala.
 Zhern samor'z po sivim morji pride,
 Barko vstavi, praša lepe Vide:
 „Sakaj, Vida! nisi tak' rudezha,
 Tak' rudezha nisi, tak' zvetezha,
 Kakor ti si perve léta bila?“

Slika 2: Začetek Prešernove priredbe Lepe Vide (iz objave v *Kranjski čbelici*, II, 1832, str. 94).

nastopi elegičen konec. Lepa Vida je v tej varianti v službi dojlje na španskem dvoru in tako zavarovana pred skrunitvijo, vendar se ne more več vrniti domov. V tujini žaluje za umrlim otrokom, starim možem in domom.

3. Gorenjska tipološka skupina Lepe Vide s srečnim koncem je ohranjena v Poznikovi varianti iz Kroppe. Zamorec oz. zamorski gospod tukaj odpelje Lepo Vido v pogansko deželo za svojo priležnico, gospo in gospodinjo, ona se nato na čudežen način, s pomočjo sonca,⁶ vrne domov.

V šestdesetih letih prejšnjega stoletja so raziskovalci Glasbenonarodopisnega inštituta ZRC SAZU odkrili variante Lepe Vide v Reziji, ki jih ni mogoče uvrstiti v omenjene Grafenauerjeve tipološke skupine. Skupaj s prej odkritimi variantami so rezijanske variante Lepe Vide v narečni in poknjženi obliki ter z melodijami zapisane v peti knjigi *Slovenskih ljudskih pesmi* (dalje SLP V) (2007). V prvi rezijanski varianti iz kraja Liščaca/Lischiazze (SLP V/244/6) gre le za ostanek pesmi o Lepi Vidi, medtem ko ima druga varianta iz istega kraja (SLP V/244/7) kar dvajset kitic in elegičen konec. Stara Vida, v pomenu stare znanke, pravi mornarju, da ni več tako lepa kot nekoč, ker da je veliko sejala po njivah pod Morjano, kar je mogoče razumeti kot metaforo, da je težko rodila (Golež Kaučič et al., 2007, 87–88). Mornar jo zvijačno ugrabi s korenem/zdravilom za otroka in požene barko po »tem črnjelem, po tem zelenem morji«.

Ugrabljena žena-mati sprašuje luno, zvezde in sonce po mlademu možu in sinku. Ugrabitelj se vozi z njo po morju brez konca in kraja, ona se mu upira, kliče nanj gorje, vendar se ne more vrniti domov. Sin ob skrbnem očetu odraste in se poroči, mož pa še zmeraj razdraženo hodi ob morju in išče Vido. V varianti iz kraja Osojane/Oseacco (SLP V/244/8) Marjanco na barko z zdravilom/koreninom za otroka zvabi njen bivši fant. Vozi jo po morju, ona ga preprosi, da jo pripelje na obalo. Marjanca se vrne domov k svojemu možu čevljarju, otrok je umrl. Podobno kot v vseh drugih rezijanskih variantah ima mlada žena-mati, lepa Lena, tudi v pesmi iz kraja Bila/San Giorgio di Resia/ (SLP V/244/9) mladega moža. Ko na obrežju pere plenice, jo čolnar zvabi na barko z zdravilom (lapuhom) za jokajočega otroka in odrine na morje. Po sinu in možu sprašuje sonce, zvezde in luno. Mož se vznemirja, sin umira. Ona se zave svojega položaja, nad ugrabitelja, ki jo vozi po morju, kliče vse hudo. Ta varianta ne pove, kako se Lepa Lena po treh letih vrne na dom. Tudi njen dom je razpadel, otrok je mrtev, mož se je že hotel poročiti z drugo. Varianta iz kraja Solbica/Stilvizza (SLP V/244/10) ima samo začetni, prejšnji pesmi podoben del pogovora med ugrabiteljem in lepo Leno.

Doslej najdene variante Lepe Vide so pod poglavjem 244. Zvijahna ugrabitev mlade matere (Lepa Vida) (pri nekaterih so dodane tudi melodije) natisnjene v peti knjigi *Slovenskih ljudskih pesmi*. Variantni niz pesemskega tipa Lepa Vida je zapisan po zaporednih številkah od 1 do 11 in ga sestavljajo: 1. Rudežev zapis iz Ribnice, 2. Poznikov zapis iz Kroke, 3. Breznikov zapis iz Ihana, 4. Kramarjev zapis iz Goričice pri Ihanu, 5. Maroltov zapis iz Škofje Loke, 6. Natalettijev zapis iz Liščace v Reziji, 7. Natalettijev zapis iz Liščace v Reziji, 8. Zapis iz Osojan v Reziji, GNI (VV), 9. Zapis iz Bile v Reziji, GNI (VV), 10. Matičetov zapis iz Solbice v Reziji, 11. Zapis odlomka v Danah pri Ribnici, GNI (ZK) (Golež Kaučič et al., 2007, 73–89). Marjetka Golež Kaučič ugotavlja, da v Lepi Vidi, kakor jo prikazuje celoten variantni niz, ne gre le za problematiko zvijahno ugrabljene mlade žene-matere, temveč je »tudi pesem o ločevanjih, o razpetosti med dolžnost in hrepenenje ali pa zgodba o razpetosti med dve ljubezni, ki hkrati nista uresničljivi« (Golež Kaučič et al., 2007, 88).

Grafenauer je nastanek Lepe Vide s tragičnim koncem umestil v srednjeveško okolje arabsko-mavrskih plenitev po obrežjih krščanskega Sredozemlja med 9. in 11. stoletjem. Zmaga Kumer pritruje Grafenauerju, da je balada o Lepi Vidi morala nastati nekje v obmorski deželi, vendar se sprašuje, zakaj so se zapisi njenih variant ohranili le v osrednjem delu Slovenije in v gorati Reziji, ne pa tudi v

krajih ob Jadranskem morju. Po njenem mnenju so pesem o Lepi Vidi najpozneje v 14. stoletju prinesli naši ljudje od drugod, ko so romali v Porenje ali Galicijo, španska kraljica v Rudeževi varianti pa naj bi bila pač kraljica iz daljne dežele (Kumer, 2002, 152). Marjetka Golež Kaučič je drugačnega mnenja in zapiše, da bi lahko Lepo Vido k nam prinesli krošnjari, ki se pojavljajo v vseh krajih, iz katerih so ohranjeni zapisi Lepe Vide (razen Škofje Loke) (Golež Kaučič et al., 2007, 88).

VARIANTI SLOVENSKE LEPE VIDE S TRAGIČNIM KONCEM V KROGU SREDOZEMSKIH SORODNIC

O primerjavi med slovensko Lepo Vido in sredozemskimi baladami sta obširno pisala Ivan Grafenauer v monografiji *Lepa Vida* (1943) in Irena Avsenik Nabergoj v monografiji *Hrepenenje in skušnjava v svetu literature. Motiv Lepe Vide* (2010). V variantnem nizu slovenske ljudske balade Lepa Vida, ki smo ga opisali v prejšnjem poglavju, obstajata le dve varianti, v katerih Lepa Vida doživi tragičen konec (Breznikova iz Ihana (SLP V/244/3) in Kramarjeva iz Goričice pri Ihanu (SLP V/244/4)). Prav zaradi tega motiva sta v nadaljevanju ob zavedanju, da gre za različne balade, ti varianti Lepe Vide postavljeni v kontekst sredozemskih balad o ugrabljeni mladi ženi-materi, ki je povsod sicer višjega, aristokratskega stanu, vendar pripadnica krščanske skupnosti, ki se raje odloči za smrt, kakor bi zapustila otroka, dom, družino, skupnost in odšla z ugrabiteljem (nevernikom, poganom).

Breznikova varianta Lepe Vide iz Ihana pripoveduje o mladi ženi-materi, ki jo črn zamorec zvijahno ugrabi s koreninom (uspavalom) za bolnega otroka in želi odpeljati za sužnjo na tuje, ona pa raje skoči v morje in utone ter tako reši svojo čast, čast svoje družine in skupnosti. V Kramarjevi varianti ima Lepa Vida doma jokajočega, morda nezakonskega otroka, saj jo ostarelo oče ves čas zmerja. Osrednji del je izpuščen, konča pa se podobno kot prejšnja varianta. V obeh primerih se Lepa Vida, imenovana mlada Vida, pred skokom v smrt tudi pokriža in tako izrazi svojo pripadnost krščanstvu.

V sicilskih variantah balade Plemenita Scibilija (iz Marsale in Borgetta) je aristokratska žena nasilno ugrabljena na svojem oziroma moževem domu. V obeh variantah so ugrabitelji mornarji, v kristjane preoblečeni plenilci iz Tunisa, ki je bil v srednjem veku največje mavrsko središče trgovanja s sužnji. Ugrabljena žena v obeh variantah balade Plemenita Scibilija raje skoči v morje in utone, kot bi šla z ugrabiteljem za sužnjo oz. priležnico.⁷ V albansko-kalabrijskih baladah mlada žena-mati doživi tragičen konec in je kot v Breznikovi

⁷ V Plemeniti Scibiliji (iz Marsale) v kristjane preoblečeni mornarji ugrabijo plemenito Scibilijo v času, ko je njen mož na lovu. Ko se ta vrne, pohiti k morju in želi odkupiti ženo z zlatom in denarjem, vendar mu je ugrabitelji ne dajo. Izgnana Scibilija, imenovana tudi Lepa, ve, da bo otrok brez njenega mleka umrl. Ko mornarji zaspijo, skoči v morje in utone. V borgettski varianti se žlahtna Scibilija, hči velikega kneza, mimo volje staršev poroči s svojim ljubim vitezom in odseli v njegovo palačo na deželo. Drugi del pesmi je podoben varianti iz Marsale, vendar nekoliko okrnjen. Pomorski plenilci iz Tunisa si namejejo turbane in ugrabijo mlado krščansko ženo in mater. Ko zaspijo, ona skoči z ladje v morje in prav tako utone.

Tabela 1: Varianti Lepe Vide s tragičnim koncem v kontekstu albansko-kalabrijskih sorodnic.

	žena-mati	ugrabitelj	zvijačna ugrabitev	izgnanstvo	smrt matere	znak krščanstva
Breznikova varianta Lepe Vide iz Ihana	mlada Vida	črn zamorec	zdravilo (»korejnče«) za bolnega otroka	sužnja, priležnica	skok v morje	se pokriža
Kramarjeva varianta Lepe Vide iz Goričice pri Ihanu	mlada Vida	črn zamorec	izpuščeno	sužnja, priležnica	skok v morje	se pokriža
De Radova albanska Zogna Riin/Donna Irene/ Gospa Irena	Gospa Irena	»vi psi, vi mornarji«	svileno blago, obleke	sužnja, priležnica na Turškem	skok v morje	Matere iz Corona ji postavijo na grob cerkev.
Bruzzanova albanska Ta bucurana/La bella/Lepa	Lepa, ni mati.	»turški pes«	svila	sužnja, priležnica na Turškem	Turek jo vrže v prepad, val naplavi truplo.	/
De Radova kalabrijska Donna Candia/Gospa Kandija	Gospa Kandija	Turek, »turški psi«	svila	sužnja, priležnica na Turškem	skok v morje	Njene roke so »svečniki v cerkvi«.
Algranatijev kalabrijski odlomek Donna Canfura/ Gospa Canfura	Gospa Canfura	fantje iz Catanzara	svila	sužnja, priležnica	skok v morje	/

varianti Lepe Vide ugrabljena na zvijačen način. Spodnja tabela prikazuje primerjavo Breznikove in Kramarjeve variante Lepe Vide z albansko-kalabrijskimi variantami balade o zvijačno ugrabljeni mladi žene-materi glede na to, kdo je ugrabitelj mlade žene-matere, kako je bila ugrabljena, kaj se je zgodilo z njenim otrokom, kakšna je bila njena usoda in ali ugrabljena žena-mati kaže znake krščanstva.

V vseh omenjenih variantah so ugrabitelji morski roparji in nekristjani (pogani). V albanskih pesmih Gospa Irena in Lepa ter v kalabrijski pesmi Gospa Kandija so ugrabitelji lepe žene-matere turški morski plenilci, ki mlado ženo zvabijo na ladjo z dragocenim blagom in jo ugrabijo za sužnjo oz. priležnico na Turškem. V obeh slovenskih variantah je ugrabitelj Lepe Vide črn zamorec. V Breznikovi varianti jo ugrabi z zvijačo, da ima zdravilo za bolnega/nespečega otroka, v Kramarjevi varianti je motiv zvažitve na ladjo izpuščen. Ugrabitelji imajo povsod negativne oznake (»turški pes«, »vi psi«, »turški psi«, »črn zamorec«).

Ko mavrski ali turški morski plenilec oz. trgovec z blagom in sužnji ugrabi mlado ženo-mater, je njena prva skrb otrok, kaj se bo zgodilo z njim in kako ga ohraniti pri življenju.⁸ V De Radovi albanski varianti Gospa Irena takoj po ugrabitvi prosi mornarje, naj ustavijo

ladjo, da priporoči svojega sinka svakinji. V De Radovi kalabrijski varianti Gospa Kandija prosi ugrabitelje, da se sme dvigniti na jambor, da bi videla, kako daleč ima mož, ki mu je naročila, naj svakinja doji njenega otroka, še do doma. Lepa Vida iz Breznikove variante se takoj po ugrabitvi sprašuje, kaj bo z otrokom, ki bo ostal brez matere, v Kramarjevi varianti se iz njenih ust izvije obupen vzklík, kaj bo z otrokom brez matere. V naslednjem koraku ugrabljena mlada žena-mati brani svetost zakonske zveze in krščansko tradicijo. V albanskih in kalabrijskih variantah želi mož (sopro, vitez, gospod) lepo ženo-mater za vsako ceno odkupiti, vendar mu je ugrabitelji ne izročijo za noben denar.⁹ V De Radovi kalabrijski varianti Gospa Kandija soprog ugrabiteljem za lepo ženo zaman ponuja na kupe denarja in zlatnikov. V pogajanjih izpostavi, naj mu ženo vrnejo zaradi dojenca, ki bo ostal brez materinega mleka, vendar tudi to ne zaleže. V Bruzzanovi albanski pesmi Lepa je ugrabljena mlada žena brez otroka, tudi tukaj jo želi njen gospod odplačati z zlatniki. Ona po ugrabitvi joka, ker je ločena od brata in domovine. Od ugrabiteljev izprosi, da se sme povzpeti na lestev. Tam si razpusti kite, žaluje za domovino in bratom. Ko ugrabitelj opazi njeno žalost, jo vrže v prepad, vendar valovi naplavijo njeno truplo na obalo, kjer jo najde mornar, iz njenih

⁸ V sicilskih variantah je ta skrb izražena s simboliko materinega mleka. V pesmi Scibilia Nobili (iz Marsale) ima ugrabljena mati polne prsi belega mleka. Ugrabitelji se za njeno bolečino ne zmenijo.

⁹ Tudi v baladi Scibilia Nobili (iz Marsale) soprog neuspešno ponuja za odkup žene zlato in denar ter izraža zaskrbljenost za dojenca, ki bo ostal brez matere.

las splete vrv in jo prinese na trg. Mož prepozna ženine lase in se z mornarjem odpravi k njenemu truplu, kjer je vse polno krvi. V Breznikovi varianti Lepe Vide mož ni omenjen, saj je dogajanje v celoti strnjeno okrog materinstva in njenega odnosa do otroka (Grafenauer, 1943, 350).

Pripadnost mlade žene-matere h krščanstvu je v omenjenih baladah izražena na različne načine. Krščanske žene iz Corona v De Radovi albanski baladi Gospa Irena objokujejo in častijo mrtvo gospo Ireno, ki so jo naplavili valovi, ter ji na grob postavijo cerkev. V De Radovi kalabrijski baladi Gospa Kandija izreče ugrabljenka žena, da je ne bodo uživali turški psi. Ko valovi naplavijo njeno truplo, so njene bele roke »svečniki v cerkvi«.¹⁰ Slovenska Lepa Vida se v obeh variantah pred skokom v morje pokriža, v preostalih slovenskih variantah Lepe Vide takšnega znamenja ni.

LEPA VIDA – ODPOR DO TUDJA, NEVERNIKA, POGANA, DRUGEGA

V zavesti narodov zahodnega Balkana so se, kot ugotavlja Kuljić (2012), globoko ukoreninili nacionalni miti, med katerimi je tudi mit o predzidju (*ante murales*).¹¹ Balkanski narodi razkrivajo v okviru tega mita svojo osvobodilno in žrtvovanjsko kolektivno zavest, kot čuvaji krščanske Evrope se razkrivajo sami ali so jih v takšno vlogo potisnile velike sile. Mit o predzidju krščanske Evrope, ki pri Slovencih nima večje vloge, naj bi bil odločilnega pomena za oblikovanje narodne zavesti Hrvatov in Srbov (Velikonja, 1996, 172). Kuljić (2012) opozarja, da je bila v hrvaškem in srbskem antiorientizmu prisotna tudi turkofilna poteza integracije muslimanov v srbstvo in hrvatstvo. Otomanskega Turka¹² v slovenskem ljudskem izročilu kakor tudi druge etnične tujce razlagajo folkloristi s konceptom Drugega (Mlakar, 2019; Golež Kaučič, 2019).

Grafenauer umešča nastanek Lepe Vide v kulturno okolje mavrskih plenitev po Sredozemlju in razlaga, da je slovenska Lepa Vida s tragičnim koncem nastala v času od 9. do druge polovice 11. stoletja, ko so muslimanski Mavri kot gospodarji Sicilije in delov spodnje Italije plenili po vseh krščanskih obrežjih Sredozemlja, torej pred prihodom Normanov v južno Italijo in Sicilijo (Grafenauer, 1943, 287). Mavri so v sužnost, v afriška in španska pristanišča, vozili tudi mlade krščanske matere iz

imenitnih družin, kar odmeva v sredozemskih baladah o ugrabljeni mladi ženi-materi po morskem roparju (Grafenauer, 1943, 232; Avsenik Nabergoj, 2010).

Ugrabljene žene-matere se v sredozemskih baladah Gospa Irena, Gospa Kandija, Gospa Canfura, Plemenita Scibilija (v obeh variantah) uprejo ugrabitelju, tako da se z višine¹³ vržejo v morje in utonejo. V slovenski baladi o Lepi Vidi se mlada mati odloči za prostovoljno smrt, skok v morje, kot je že opisano, le v Breznikovi in Kramarjevi varianti. Črn zamorec, tujec, arabski morski plenilec in trgovec s sužnji, je pripadnik tuje vere, po ljudskem prepričanju pogan, ki za krščansko mlado ženo-mater predstavlja večkratno nevarnost, iztrga jo iz družine kot osnovne celice krščanstva, z njenim pregonom pa je ogroženo tudi življenje rodu. Tudi Lepa Vida v Breznikovi in Kramarjevi varianti ne želi oskruniti svetosti krščanskega zakona in postati priležnica tujcu, poganu. V preostalih variantah krščanska identiteta Lepe Vide ni eksplicitno izražena, a jo lahko evocira kulturno-zgodovinski kontekst pesmi.

Ljudska pesem je, kakor piše Zmaga Kumer (1996, 41), spremljevalka in zrcalo narodovega življenja. V njej odmevajo tudi zgodovinski dogodki in osebe, vendar preteklost v ljudski pesmi, kakor razlagajo folkloristi, ne sledi kronološkemu načelu, ampak živi v kolektivnem spominu tako, da se lahko posamezni zgodovinski dogodki in osebe iz različnih obdobj združujejo, povezujejo in transformirajo tudi v arhetipske dogodke (Mlakar, 2019, 68). Kot ugrabitelji mlade-žene matere se v sredozemskih baladah pojavljajo »turški psi«, medtem ko se v slovenski Lepi Vidi praviloma zapisuje črn zamorec, ki ga Grafenauer povezuje s Saraceni oziroma muslimanskimi Mavri. Tudi Marjetka Golež Kaučič piše, da so Saraceni ali Mavri v ljudski pesmi »prvi kot pripadniki islama predstavljali nevarnost za slovenskega človeka, kar odseva v najbolj znani baladi Lepa Vida« (Golež Kaučič, 2019, 215).

Folkloristi razlagajo etnične tujce v folklori kot podobno Drugega, ki je rezultat različnih dejavnikov, drugačnega etničnega porekla, drugačne religije, drugačne telesne podobe itd. Meja med Nami in Drugimi pa se vzpostavlja na podlagi stereotipov in opozicij (dobro – slabo, pogansko – krščansko, črno – belo, nadnaravno – naravno, čisto – umazano) (prim. Mlakar, 2019, 38). Različni etnični tujci (Saraceni, Turki) dobijo v ljudski pesmi določene skupne poteze, zaradi česar je lahko prišlo tudi do zamenjave njihovih imen (Mlakar, 2019,

10 V sicilski varianti Plemenita Scibilija (iz Borgetta) mlada žena-mati izjavi, da je njeno mleko samo za kristjane.

11 Nacionalni miti o predzidju (anti murales), samoniklosti (sui generis) in starožitnosti (antiquitis) so v vlogi razmejevalnega mehanizma balkanskih narodov prišli ponovno na dan ob razpadu Jugoslavije. Potrebovali so jih za potrjevanje svoje samostojnosti kakor tudi za olepševanje antiorientalne preteklosti spričo na zahodu obujene retorike balkanizma, npr. stereotipa o Balkanu kot barbarskem obrobju civilizirane Evrope (Kuljić, 2012, 151–154). Z množičnimi migracijami nekristjanov v Evropo se mit o predzidju krščanske Evrope znova oživlja in postavlja nove meje.

12 S Turkom kot nasilnim osvajalcem tuje vere se spopadajo najbolj reprezentativni junaki slovenstva, kot so Kralj Matjaž, Peter Klepec in Martin Krpan.

13 Gospa Irena si izprosi, da stopi na lestev, gospa Kandija in gospa Canfura se vržeta v morje z ladijskega jambora.

127). Saracen in Turek sta lahko zamenljiva in nastopata v ljudski pesmi v negativni podobi, v vlogi Drugega,¹⁴ kot roparja, a tudi kot nevernika, ki zbujata pri krščanskih dekletih odpor. Ker je do zamenjave muslimanskih Mavrov s Turki v slovenski ljudski pesmi lahko prišlo šele od začetka 15. stoletja naprej (Kumer, 2002, 15), se to v slovenski Lepi Vidi ni moglo zgoditi.

Literarna veda razmejuje med konceptoma Tujega in Drugega. Tuje je lahko razumljeno v topografskem smislu, kot tisto, kar je nasprotje lastnemu, ali tisto, kar je povsem neznano (Waldenfels, 1997; Hofmann, 2006). Jože Pogačnik (1999, 268) je v literarnozgodovinski razpravi *Med Lepo Vido in Martinom Krpanom* odprl zanimivo vprašanje, kako se oba omenjena junaka obnašata v stiku s tujim, in opozoril na nezaupljivost slovenske rodovne skupnosti do srednje Evrope in Sredozemlja kakor tudi na negativno izkušnjo, ki jo imata oba junaka v stiku s tujino, pri čemer je bilo srečanje s tujim in tujcem za Lepo Vido mnogo usodnejše kot za Martina Krpana. V obeh primerih pa sta tujca (črn zamorec, Brdavs), če pristajamo na zgodovinsko interpretacijo Levstikovega Martina Krpana, tudi predstavnika druge vere.

IZGNANSTVO LEPE VIDE

Zapustitev družine in otroka je veljalo v vseh družbah za odklonilno dejanje. Krščanstvo je strogo kaznovalo zakonsko nezvestobo, takšne tradicionalne in religiozne norme je prevzelo tudi pravo in uveljavilo različne kazni. Konstantin je denimo izenačil nezvestobo z najtežjim zločinom, Justinijan jo je nato omilil na kazen zapiranja grešnice v samostan za največ dve leti. Posamezne predpise bizantinskih predpisov so sprejeli tudi pokristjanjeni južni Slovani (Milenković, 2005, 141–143). Moralne norme so se dolgo ohranjale in prenašale po ljudskem izročilu. Govorica časti je na ravni spolnosti predstavljala določene načine obnašanja. Tiste, ki so te norme prekršili oziroma izgubili občutek za čast, npr. prostitutke, je skupnost izključila, kar je bilo v nasprotju s kaznijo izгона (Povolo, 2015, 117; Povolo, 2017, 22). Nezvesta žena je onečastila sebe, moža,¹⁵ družino in skupnost. Za večino prepovedanih dejanj se je kaznovalo z izgonom

(Milenković, 2005, 25). Ta motiv ima svoje izhodišče v svetopisemskem motivu izгона iz raja in priča, da je bila božja kazen za Evino neposlušnost in upornost zelo huda. Različne oblike izgnanstva so doživljale politične osebnosti, pesniki in literarne osebe.¹⁶ V evropskem srednjem veku je veljal izgon za enega od ključnih obrednih obrazcev v običajnem reševanju sporov¹⁷ in je bil namenjen pomiritvi sprtih strani. Če do pomiritve ni prišlo, je moral izgnanec ostati v izgnanstvu, kjer ga je lahko kdor koli nekaznovano ubil in je za to prejel celo finančno nagrado. Z ubojem izgnanca se je lahko drugi izgnanec tudi odkupil oz. osvobodil izгона (Darovec, 2017, 676).

Mlada žena-mati v opisanih albansko-kalabrijsko-sicilskih baladah ne želi izstopiti iz tradicije rodovne skupnosti. Svoje poslanstvo razume, tako da izpolnjuje materinsko vlogo, ki omogoča nadaljevanje rodu, varuje zvestobo in svetost obreda zakonske zveze ter dom kot osnovno celice krščanske civilizacije. Podobno je v Breznikovi in Kramarjevi varianti Lepe Vide, le da sta obe osredinjeni na tragiko ugrabljenе matere in usodo otroka. V Breznikovi varianti mož zvijačno ugrabljenе matere ni omenjen, v Kramarjevi Lepa Vida potoži, da ima doma starega očeta, ki jo noč in dan zmerja, kar namiguje na to, da imamo morda opraviti z materjo samohranilko. Drugače je v Rudeževi varianti Lepe Vide, kjer mlada žena – mati prostovoljno zapusti dom, v čemer je mogoče videti tudi njen upor zoper tradicijo, iskanje boljšega življenja zunaj doma, v stiku s tujino, a se potem izkaže, da v tujini ni našla sreče. Tudi v rezijanskih variantah je Lepa Vida vpeta v tradicijo in pomeni njen odhod od doma razpad družine.

V opisanih sredozemskih baladah o ugrabljeni mladi ženi-materi kakor tudi v Breznikovi in Kramarjevi varianti Lepe Vide se mlada žena odločno upre temu, da bi zapustila otroka, moža, družino, dom in odšla z ugrabiteljem na tuje. Raje izbere prostovoljno smrt kot izgnanstvo od doma. Kaj bi jo sicer čakalo na tujem? Od otroka, če bi ostal živ brez materinega mleka, bi bila najbrž za zmeraj ločena.¹⁸ Ponovna poroka s krščanskim človekom v tujem religiozno-kulturnem okolju zanj ne bi bila več mogoča. Tujec, nevernik, bi jo lahko vzel za ženo oziroma priležnico ob živem možu ali jo prodal naprej

14 Anja Mlakar je raziskala podobo Turka v ljudskem pripovedništvu z vidika Drugega in ugotavlja, da nastopa Turek kot uničevalec oziroma demonizirani Drugi (Mlakar, 2019, 55). Marjetka Golež Kaučič (2019, 211) piše o vlogi muslimana oziroma Turka v različnih obdobjih in ugotavlja, da je bila njegova vloga v slovenski folklori in literaturi do 19. stoletja negativna.

15 Obredi poniževanja moralno kontaminiranih oseb, npr. jutranje podoknice pod oknom moža prešušnice, naj bi bili pogosti še v drugi polovici 18. stoletja (Povolo, 2015, 117).

16 Ojdip se je npr. sam obsodil na slepoto in izgnanstvo, Antigona, ki ga je s sestro Ismeno spremljala v izgnanstvo, je našla zatočišče v Kolonu. Ovidija je cesar Avgust pregnal v mesto Tomi ob Črnem morju, kjer je bil prisiljen živeti v zapuščenosti in v neprijetnih vremenskih razmerah, Napoleon je končal v pregnanstvu na otoku Sveta Helena.

17 Beneška republika je konec 15. stoletja na svojem celotnem območju prepovedala ubijanje izgnancev in med letoma 1549–1580 z ukrepi določila, da je bila lahko kazen izгона izrečena le v imenu beneških centralnih organov. Uveljavila jo je kot izgon iz vseh krajev in ladij Beneške republike, za večje prekrške je bila doživljenjska. Predtem je dolžino kazni izгона določala lokalna skupnost in je bila omejena le na izgon iz kraja zločina in okoliških krajev (Darovec, 2017, 676). Slovanski viri pričajo, da je imel mož pravico kaznovati nezvesto ženo s smrtno kaznijo in da se je ta kazen obdržala še v 16. stoletju (Milenković, 2005, 142). Od sredine 16. stoletja se je izgnani lahko tudi osvobodil (Darovec, 2018, 461).

18 Breznikova in Kramarjeva varianta Lepe Vide ne povesta, kaj se je po ugrabitvi Lepe Vide zgodilo z njenim otrokom, a iz materine tožbe je razumeti, da ni ostal pri življenju.

kot sužnjo. Prenašati bi morala krivdo, da je zapustila otroka in moža, živeti kot sužnja, priležnica in odpadnica od krščanske vere.

Variante Lepe Vide pripovedujejo o različnih oblikah izgnanstva mlade žene-matere, nekatere tudi o njeni vrnitvi domov. V vseh variantah je Lepa Vida zvijačno ugrabljenka, le v Rudeževi varianti se mlada žena-mati prostovoljno odloči za izgnanstvo na tuje, a ji to dejanje prinese neskončno bolečino in domotožje. V tej varianti, ki je po Prešernovi prepesnitvi tudi najbolj poznana, črn zamorec pravi, da je odposlanec španske kraljice, ki želi prav njo na dvoru za dojiljo svojemu kraljiču. Lepa Vida sprejme povabilo in grez njim na španski dvor. Tam je nesrečna, kraljici prikriva svojo pravo bolečino. O tem, kaj se dogaja na njenem domu, se lahko pogovarja le s soncem in z luno. Lepa Vida za vedno ostane v tujini kot sužnja, dojilja, domov se ne more več vrniti. Njen prvotni dom razpade, otrok je mrtev, stari mož jo išče ob morju. Številne interpretacije te variante Lepe Vide odpirajo vprašanja moralne krivde žene-matere, ki je zapustila otroka, moža, družino in dom ter odšla na tuje, kjer je nesrečna in od koder lahko po domu samo še toži, pa tudi znake upora¹⁹ zoper tradicijo.

V vseh variantah slovenske Lepe Vide ugrabitelj (črn zamorec, mornar, čolnar) sprašuje Lepo Vido (mlado Vido, staro Vido, lepo Leno, Marjanco), zakaj ni več tako lepa (rdeča), kot je bila nekoč, kar daje slutiti, da se poznata že od prej, vendar ne vemo, ali je njuno poznanstvo vezano le na občasna srečanja ob morju ali pa ima mlada žena-mati za sabo že konkretno izkušnjo izgnanstva v tujini. Slednje lahko trdimo za Lepo Vido v Poznikovi varianti iz Kroke, v kateri je eksplicitno navedeno, da je pri črnem zamorcu v prejšnjih letih že služila za deklo: »Mlada Vida, kako je to, / da nisi več tako lepa, / kakor si bila prva leta, / kadar si bila pri meni za deklo?« (SLP V/244/2). Tudi Rudeževa varianta nakazuje, da je bila Lepa Vida že poznana na španskem dvoru, saj si je španska kraljica za dojiljo zaželela prav njo. Poznanstvo med čolnarjem in Marjanco je eksplicitno izraženo tudi v rezijanski varianti (SLP V/244/8).

Lepo Vido čakajo v tujini, ob krožni vožnji po morju v rezijanskih variantah (SLP V/244/6, 7) ali ob vrnitvi domov različne usode. V Poznikovi varianti (SLP V/244/2) črn zamorec mlado Vido zvijačno ugrabi in jo odpelje v tujo deželo za svojo gospo oz. priležnico, od koder se je vrnila domov na čudežen način (s pomočjo sonca). Kaj se je z njo zgodilo doma, pesem ne pove. Več o usodi ugrabljenke mlade žene-matere, ki se sama ali s pomočjo ugrabitelja vrne domov, sporočata varianti iz Rezije (SLP V/244/8 in SLP V/244/9). V varianti SLP V/244/8 si Marjanca izprosi od ugrabitelja, da jo

vrne na obalo. Ko nato pride domov, je otrok mrtev in njeno življenje pod kontrolo, saj ji mož prepove, da bi še kdaj hodila prat k morju. Tudi varianta SLP V/244/9 pripoveduje o razpadu družine in doma. Lepa Lena se po treh letih vrne domov, a to ni več njen stari dom; otrok je mrtev, mož pa se je že hotel poročiti z drugo žensko. Mit o materi kot braniteljici najglobljih etičnih vezi, družine, doma in tradicije, ki se lahko razbira iz Lepe Vide, se je začel razkrajati že v njenih ljudskih variantah in je v različnih oblikah tematiziran v slovenski književnosti. V enem od novejših literarnih primerov (Stanka Hrastelj, *O Lepi Vidi, ki zapusti moža in dete, a se tega ne kesa* (2013)) novodobna Lepa Vida v popolnosti zavrne vlogo matere in žene, brez slehernega občutka krivde zapusti svojega partnerja in se odloči za umetno prekinitev nosečnosti.

ČRN ZAMOREC V LEPI VIDU IN ČRN ARABEC V IZBRANIH PESMIH O KRALJEVIČU MARKU

Pogačnik je v svoji monografiji *Lepa Vida ali hoja za rožo čudotvorno* (1988) posebno pozornost posvetil semantiki pridevka črn ob zamorcu, ki zvijačno ugrabi Lepo Vido. V interpretaciji Prešernove priredbe Lepe Vide piše o črnem zamorcu kot temnem zvodniku, ki mu Lepa Vida prostovoljno sledi (Pogačnik, 1988, 35). Zmaga Kumer pa ugotavlja, da je v ljudski pesmi uporaba pridevka v skladu z resničnostjo (Kumer, 1996, 101). Pogačnik in Božović še navajata, da je črna barva v slovenski ljudski pesmi in v pesmih srbsko-hrvaškega jezikovnega področja pogosto povezana z nesrečo in s strahom (Božović, 1977, 121; Pogačnik, 1988, 37). Črn zamorec v Lepi Vidi je po Grafenauerju španski ali afriški Maver, muslimanski Arabec, pomorski plenilec in trgovec s sužnji po obalah Sredozemskega morja. Tudi Marjetka Golež Kaučič piše, da se izraz zamorec pogosto pojavlja za Saracene in muslimanske Mavre iz časa mavrskih plenitev in trgovanja s sužnji v Sredozemlju, ki so oblegali tudi področja severnega Jadrana, vendar meni, da je pomensko polje zamorca določeno le s tem, da je to »tisti, ki prihaja iz dežele onkraj morja in je šele naknadno dobil pomen temnopoltega, nima pa nobene etnične konotacije« (Golež Kaučič v Mlakar, 2019, 127).

Šmitek izhaja iz mitološke razlage črnega zamorca in piše, da je v njem mogoče prepoznati črnega htoničnega demona izza morja, ki ga je pozneje zamenjal muslimanski Maver, arabski ropar ali trgovec, pri južnih Slovanih pa se pojavlja kot »crni Arapin«, »Arap«, »Arap prekomorac«, »troglavi Arapit« (Šmitek, 2004, 236). Medtem ko je bil Grafenauerju za nastanek Lepe Vide odločilnega pomena stik južnih Slovanov s španskimi

¹⁹ Marija Milenković (2005, 145) vidi v odhodu Lepe Vide v tujino simbolni upor zoper tradicionalno vlogo žene-matere v patriarhalni družbi in iskanje osebne sreče.

Mavri prek Španije in Sicilije, Božović opozarja, da so južni Slovani prihajali v stik z Arabci tudi prek Bizanca,²⁰ v bizantinsko-arabskih vojnah, kjer so aktivno sodelovali. Isti avtor ugotavlja, da so južni Slovani tedaj še verjeli v poganse bogove in mitske zgodbe, med katerimi je imelo pomembno vlogo verovanje v bele in črne bogove. Zaradi negativnih izkušenj z arabskimi napadalci so se za mit značilne polarizacije (belo – črno, dobro – zlo, tostranstvo – onstranstvo, pravično – nepravično) začele spreminjati v zgodovinsko-domišljjsko binarno opozicijo, tako da je belega, dobrega boga zamenjal kak znamenit slovanski junak, funkcijo črnega pa prevzel arabski napadalec in krvnik, črn Arabec (Božović, 1977, 197–198).

Matija Murko piše v knjigi *Tragom srpsko-hrvatske narodne epike*, nastali na podlagi terenskih raziskav po Bosni, da junaške epske pesmi, ki pri Srbih in Hrvatih nadomeščajo narodni ep, pojejo predvsem o junakih in njihovem junaštvu v bojih proti Turkom, ki ustvarjajo epsko dobo vseh južnih Slovanov (Murko, 1951, 231). Murko prav tako ugotavlja, da muslimanske pesmi v Bosni v veliki večini opevajo iste dogodke in osebe kot krščanske in pravoslavne, le da s stališča bosanskih Turkov (hrvaških in srbskih poturčencev) (Murko, 1951, 222). Ljudski pevci pojejo junaške pesmi v spremljavi instrumenta (gosli, tamburica idr.) ali samo recitirajo. Junaki imajo zgodovinsko podlago, vendar jim ljudski spomin pripisuje še izmišljena dejanja, na zgodovinske osebe se vežejo tudi različni domači in mednarodni motivi (Murko, 1951, 56). Tako je ljudski spomin oblikoval tudi Kraljeviča Marka, najslavnejšega junaka srbske in južnoslovanske epske pesmi. Ta živi v številnih epskih pesmih kot neustrašen junak, borec za pravico, zaščitnik revnih in nemočnih, tudi kot nasprotnik Turkov med osmansko okupacijo Balkana, četudi je bil zgodovinski Marko Mrnjavčević²¹ osmanski vazal. Pesmi o Kraljeviču Marku so se pod osmansko oblastjo več čas pelev, Kraljeviča Marka pa je v pesmih slavila tudi turkofilska struja pevcev. Krščanski in muslimanski pevci so si namreč izposojali svoje junake in jih po svoje oblikovali. Zuković (1985, 16) navaja, da je bil turkofilski struji pevcev lik Kraljeviča Marka, ki je umrl na turški strani v boju proti kristjanom, ljubši od kakšnega poturčenca.²²

Na tem mestu se ne posvečamo celotnemu ciklu junaških pesmi o Kraljeviču Marku niti podrobnejši primerjavi med Kraljevičem Markom in črnim Arabcem, ampak želimo pokazati le na to, da imata tako črn zamorec (morski ropar, trgovec s sužnji, zvijačni ugrabitelj) v ljudski baladi²³ Lepa Vida in črn Arabec²⁴ (napadalec, krvnik, ugrabitelj neveste na svatbi idr.), ki se pojavlja v junaških epskih pesmih o Kraljeviču Marku, negativno vlogo, oba sta tudi telesno, etnično, versko in še kako drugačna. Kakor navaja Božović, se v ljudskih pesmih srbsko-hrvaškega jezikovnega področja črn Arabec večkrat pojavi v kontrastnem paru s Kraljevičem Markom ali drugim slovanskim ljudskim junakom (Božović, 1977, 217). Črn Arabec²⁵ ugrabi nevesto in njene darove ali pobira davek na svatbo (Božović, 1977, 54), epski junak Kraljevič Marko, ki ga med drugim odlikujeta ljubezen do nemočnega in ubogih, pa iz njegovih rok rešuje dekleta, ki morajo služiti pri črnem Arabcu za sužnje/priležnice, medtem ko variantni niz Lepe Vide pripoveduje, da junakinja na različne načine sama odloča o svoji usodi.

V pesmi Marko Kraljevič ukida svadbarinu naslovni junak sreča dekle na Kosovskem polju in jo – podobno kot črn zamorec v Lepi Vidi – sprašuje, zakaj ni več tako lepa kot nekoč: »Lepa ti si, sestra, mlada bila! [...] Le zakaj že siva si postala? / Kje si, mlada srečo izgubila?« (Rehar, 1932, 211). V nadaljevanju se pokaže, da je vzrok njene nesreče črn Arabec. Pred devetimi leti je od carja zakupil Kosovo, prebivalce izčrpava z davki, naložil jim je tudi davek na svatbo. Kosovsko dekle pripoveduje, da je ostala neporočena, ker so doma revni in niso mogli plačati zahtevanega davka. A še hujša nesreča je, da se mora tako kot druga kosovska dekleta in žene odzvati pozivu črnega Arabca in iti k njemu služiti za sužnjo. Nad suženjskim življenjem obupano dekle izpove svoj odpor do črnega Arabca, tujega tirana, zaslužnevalca in sovražnika. Razmišlja celo o samomoru: »Naj li, reva, v temno vodo skočim / ali naj se na drevo obesim? / Rajši jaz bi glavo izgubila – / ko sovragu svojemu služila!« (Rehar, 1932, 218). Kraljevič Marko jo potolaži in ji podari trideset zlatnikov. Nato odjezdi v šotor črnega Arabca in mu sporoči, da je prinesel davek za nevesto, ki jo je srečal na cesti,

20 Južni Slovani so se kot vojaki pojavljali tako v bizantinski kot arabski vojski. Ob njihovem prihodu na Balkanski polotok so bili Arabci na višku svojih moči. V bojih z Bizancem leta 904 so prodrli vse do Soluna, ljudska tradicija pa je spletla zgodbo o grobu črnega Arabca v Solunu (Božović, 1977, 177). Božović (1977, 123) prav tako navaja, da so južni Slovani lahko v arabski in (pozneje) v turški vojski srečali tudi črnopolte Arabce, v obeh vojskah pa so bili zmeraj navzoči tudi črnici.

21 Marko Mrnjavčević, sin kralja Vukašina, ki je padel v bitki s Turki na Marici, je leta 1371 postal srbski kralj, a je konkretno vladal le v zahodni Makedoniji v okolici Prilepa. Kot sultanov vazal se je moral bojevati za turške interese in leta 1395 v enem od takšnih bojev (Ravine, Vlaška) umrl (Zuković, 1985, 13).

22 V zbirki Milmana Parrya *Srpskohrvatske junačke pesmi* je denimo iz ust albansko-srbskega pevca muslimanske vere zapisana epska pesem Marko Kraljevič i Musa Kesedžija, ki poje o tem, da Kraljevič Marko služi turškemu cesarju in gre zanj na dvoboj s turškim odpadnikom Muso Kesedžijo. Ko spozna, da je ubil boljšega junaka, junaka z mitološkimi značilnostmi, odjezdi v ledeno pečino, pevec pa zaključi, da ga ni bilo več videti (Parry, 1953, 99–100).

23 V slovenski in evropski folkloristiki je od leta 1966 sprejeta enotna definicija balade, in sicer je to »pesem, ki pripoveduje dramatično poudarjeno zgodbo« (Golež Kaučič, 2018, 41).

24 O liku in funkcijah črnega Arabca v ljudski pesmi na srbsko-hrvaškem jezikovnem področju je obširno pisal R. Božović (1977). Pri semantiki pridevka črn ob Arabcu navaja tudi zgodovinski podatek o spopadu Bizanca z arabskim kalifatom iz časa dinastije Abasidov, ki so kot svoje znamenje nosili črno barvo.

25 Črn Arabec se pojavlja npr. v pesmih Marko Kraljevič i 12 Arapa, Marko Kraljevič i Arapin, Marko Kraljevič ukida svadbarinu.

vendar črnemu Arabcu izroči le tri od zahtevanih trideset zlatnikov. V nadaljevanju pride med njima do spopada. Kraljevič Marko obglavi črnega Arabca in vse njegove vojake razen štirih, ki naj pričajo o njegovem junaštvu in sporočijo po vsej deželi, na vse štiri strani neba, da ni več davka na svatbo, ker jo je za vse plačal Kraljevič Marko. Kraljevič Marko v tej pesmi kaže očitne znake krščanstva, kosovsko dekle opozori, naj opusti misel na samomor in ne spravlja v greh svoje mlade duše, prav tako s kolov okrog šotor črnega Arabca sname »krščanske glave« in jih pokoplje v domačo zemljo. Pesem se konča s slavo epskega junaka, ki je svoj narod rešil izpod tujega krvnika: »*Bog živi kraljeviča Marka, / ki nas rešil je iz rok tirana, / ki ubil je krutega krvnika.*« (Rehar, 1932, 221)

Junaška pesem Marko Kraljevič i Arapin v primerjavi s prejšnjo dokazuje, da epski junak Kraljevič Marko izpod suženjstva črnega Arabca ne rešuje le srbskih oziroma krščanskih deklet, temveč tudi turška dekleta, celo sultanovo hčerko. V Prilep prejme s carigradskega dvora tri pisma s prošnjo, naj proti bogatemu plačilu in imenitnim darovom reši sultanovo hčerko pred črnim Arabcem. (Za turški dvor je bil torej zadnje upanje kot Martin Krpan za cesarski Dunaj.) Kraljevič Marko se po začetnem odlašanju anonimno odpravi v Carigrad in ob nekem jezeru kot popotnik sreča sultanovo hčerko, ki razmišlja o samomoru in toži jezeru: »*Bog pomagaj, moja hiša večna! / V tebi bo se moja pot končala, / s tabo bom se reva poročila; / bolje s tabo – kakor pa z Arabcem [...]*« (Rehar, 1932, 139). Kraljevič Marko se ji nato razkrije in obljubi, da jo bo rešil pred črnim Arabcem. Zvijačno pokonča črnega Arabca in njegove vojake, glavo črnega Arabca, sultanovo hčerko in njeno balo pri- nesel na sultanov dvor, sam pa na svojem Šarcu odjezdi v Prilep, kamor mu car pošlje darove in potrdilo s pravico, da ga vezir brez carjevega dovoljenja ne sme umoriti. Črn Arabec ima podobno kot v prejšnji pesmi negativne značilnosti, na tuji zemlji si vse dovoli, izkorišča ljudi, pobira davek, mlada dekleta si jemlje za sužnje in priležnice, ko se jih naveliča, jih proda naprej za zlatnike in blago italijanskim trgovcem. V primerjavi z njim se epski junak Kraljevič Marko pokaže kot zmagovalec v dvoboju in plemenit junak, kot osvoboditelj zaslužjenih deklet.

SKLEP

V prispevku so uvodoma predstavljene variante ljudske balade Lepa Vida, ki jih je v svoji raziskavi *Lepa Vida. Študija o izvoru, razvoju in razkroju narodne balade o Lepi Vidi* poznal že Grafenauer, kakor tudi vse

varianste Lepe Vide iz Rezije iz *Slovenskih ljudskih pesmi* V. Primerjava slovenskih variant Lepe Vide pokaže, da je bila Lepa Vida (mlada Vida, stara Vida, Marjanca, Lepa Lena idr.) na zvijačen način ugrabljen z zdravilom/pomirjevalom za bolnega otroka, izjema je le Rudeževa varianta, v kateri mlada žena-mati prostovoljno odide s črnim zamorcem za dojiljo na španski dvor. V dveh variantah (Breznikovi in Kramarjevi) Lepa Vida naredi samomor.

V osrednjem delu prispevka sta varianti Lepe Vide (Breznikov zapis iz Ihana in Kramarjev iz Goričice pri Ihanu) zaradi podobnosti s tragičnim koncem primerjani s sicilsko-albansko-kalabrijskimi variantami balade o ugrabljeni ženi-materi (Plemenita Scibilija, Gospa Irena, Gospa Kandija, Lepa, Gospa Canfura). Lepa Vida v omenjenih dveh variantah od vseh slovenskih variant najizraziteje brani družino, dom in tradicijo ter se podobno kot omenjene sredozemske balade raje odloči za samomor s skokom v morje, kakor bi odšla s črnim zamorcem, nevernikom, na tuje za sužnjo, priležnico in odpadnico od lastne vere. Ugrabitelj je v vseh teh primerih tujec in nevernik (črn zamorec, »turški pes«), medtem ko je mlada žena-mati pripadnica krščanstva. Folkloristi razlagajo podobo etničnega tujca kot podobo Drugega (prim. Mlakar, 2019; Golež Kaučič, 2019). Primerjava vseh slovenskih variant Lepe Vide prikaže različne oblike izgnanstva mlade žene-matere na tuje, njeno vrnitev v razpadli dom ali v smrt. Na podlagi negativne semantike črnega zamorca in črnega Arabca je v prispevku ob dveh primerih (Marko Kraljevič ukida svadbarinu, Marko Kraljevič i Arapin) nakazana še povezava med družinsko balado Lepa Vida in junaškimi pesmimi o Kraljeviču Marku, v katerih nastopi črn Arabec. V obeh pesmih se Kraljevič Marko pokaže kot zmagovit in plemenit junak, ki iz rok negativnega lika, črnega Arabca, ki pri dekletih zbuja strah in odpor, rešuje zaslužnena krščanska in muslimanska dekleta. V primerjavi z Lepo Vido, mlado ženo-materjo, ki sama odloča o svoji usodi (od odločitve za samomor, vrnitve domov do bivanja na tujem), sta dekleti v omenjenih pesmih mladi in nemočni sužnji, ki bi šli raje v smrt, kot ostali pri črnem Arabcu. Ljudska balada o Lepi Vidi se je s svojo pomembno arhetipsko vsebino, številnimi variantami in literarnimi predelavami oblikovala v enega od ključnih nacionalnih mitov. Mit o materi kot braniteljici najglobljih etičnih vezi, družine, doma in tradicije, ki se ob dopuščanju različnih interpretacij, razbira iz Lepe Vide, se je začel razkrajati že v njenih ljudskih variantah in je v različnih oblikah tematiziran v slovenski književnosti.

THE FOLK SONG 'FAIR VIDA' IN THE CONTEXT OF ITS MEDITERRANEAN RELATIVES AND THE FOLK SONGS ABOUT PRINCE MARKO

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SUMMARY

The present contribution discusses comparisons between variants of the Slovenian ballad of Fair Vida (Lepa Vida), which according to Grafenauer classify into three typological groups (Fair Vida with a tragic outcome, Fair Vida with an elegiac end, and Fair Vida with a happy ending), as well as the variants from Resia. The core of this paper consists of a comparison between the typological group of Fair Vida with a tragic outcome, preserved in Brezniki and Kramar's Fairy Vida from Ihan, and some of its Albanian-Calabrian-Sicilian relatives (Zogna Riin, Donna Candia, La bella, Scibilia Nobili) from Marsala and Borghetto)). This comparison touches upon the smaller differences and the greater similarities concerning the abductor, the way the abduction takes place, the fate of the child, the young woman and mother, and her devotion to Christianity. The Slovenian Fair Vida from the Ihan typological group similarly as her foreign relatives shows preference for volunteering to die, rather than allowing her maritime abductors, the infidels/unbelievers, to take her overseas to serve as a slave/concubine. She presents herself as the guardian of moral honour, of the sacredness of marriage, of family, and of the Christian tradition. The present contribution also reflects upon the relationship between the black Moor in the Slovenian Fair Vida, and the black Arab depicted in the folk songs of the Serbo-Croatian cultural area where the Arab frequently occurs in binary opposition with Prince Marko. In the context of Fair Vida, two poems are presented, in which Prince Marko rescues two maidens out of the hands of the black Arab. The maidens would, as is the case of the Slovenian Fair Vida of the Ihan type, rather choose death than live in servitude with the black Arab.

Keywords: folk ballad, Fair Vida, Fair Vida with a tragic outcome, Mediterranean ballads on abducted wife and mother, black Moor, black Arab, Prince Marko

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INTERPRETING AND TRANSLATING SHAKESPEARE'S HERALDIC TERMINOLOGY: *1 HENRY IV* AND *2 HENRY VI* IN SLOVENE

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ABSTRACT

William Shakespeare reflected the Elizabethan fascination with the intricate symbolism of heraldry in his poetry and drama. This paper examines Slovene translations of selected passages from 1 Henry IV and 2 Henry VI that involve heraldic language and pose conundrums even in the original. Because of a scarcity of available vocabulary in the target language, translator Matej Bor struggled to replicate heraldic allusions and puns; nevertheless, he successfully compensated for the lexical gap with other structures. The paper also proposes a new reading of a crucial heraldic allusion from 2 Henry VI.

Keywords: Heraldry, William Shakespeare, the Wars of the Roses, translation, Matej Bor

INTERPRETAZIONE E TRADUZIONE DELLA TERMINOLOGIA ERALDICA DI SHAKESPEARE: *1 HENRY IV* E *2 HENRY VI* NELLA LINGUA SLOVENA

SINTESI

La poesia e i drammi di Wiliam Shakespeare riflettono l'attrazione elisabettiana per l'intricata simbologia araldica. Questo articolo esamina le traduzioni slovene di alcuni brani dei drammi Enrico IV, parte I ed Enrico VI, parte II che, usando il linguaggio araldico, creano situazioni enigmatiche già nell'originale. A causa della scarsità del vocabolario disponibile nella lingua di destinazione, il traduttore Matej Bor ha avuto difficoltà a replicare le allusioni e i giochi di parole, legati all'araldica; nonostante ciò, è riuscito a compensare le lacune lessicali con altre strutture. L'articolo propone anche una nuova interpretazione della cruciale allusione araldica nell'Enrico VI, parte II.

Parole chiave: araldica, Wiliam Shakespeare, la Guerra delle due rose, traduzione, Matej Bor

INTRODUCTION: SHAKESPEARE THE HERALD

It is common knowledge that Shakespeare sought a coat of arms for his family, having made an application on behalf of his father John Shakespeare to the College of Arms (Shapiro, 2005, 275–278; Scott-Giles, 1950, 27–30; Cheesman, 2014, 90–95; Holden, 1999, 151–153; Rothery, 1930, 11–14); the design was simple: »*Could. On A Bend Sables, a Speare of the first steeled argent*« (Greenblatt, 2004, 78). The image of the slantwise spear on the shield was a punning reference to the Shakespeare name itself.¹

Heraldry also extended from the dramatist's personal life to his poetry and stage work, and over the centuries, there have been several scholarly studies of heraldry in Shakespeare's work (Scott Giles, 1950; Rothery, 1930; Ramsay, 2014; Vickers, 1985). Some references in the plays are straightforward, while others are among the famous interpretive cruxes of his work. There is, for instance, the puzzle of the heraldic term »two of the first« from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which is discussed in the authors' essay on the translation of gender masquerade in Shakespeare's plays (Gadpaille & Zupan, 2016, 102–104). This heraldic pun is witty, bawdy and entirely appropriate to the festive mood of comedy. Nevertheless, for the spectator to get the joke, some familiarity with heraldic terminology would have been required; the question thus concerns the degree of audience familiarity that will suffice. Modern scholars of Elizabethan heraldry stress its communicative aspect, maintaining that even ordinary people in the sixteenth century would have been able to decode basic visual symbols in heraldry (Kuin, 2014, 188; Groves, 2014, 238–239; Will, 2014, 266), while the gentry and aristocracy would have been familiar even with the »jargon-rich neo-Latin« (Cheesman, 2014, 79) of the verbal accompaniments. The greater the spectator's engagement with the jargon of the heraldry-mad Elizabethan court,² the more genuine their guffaws at Helena's suggestive speech in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the higher the likelihood of their appreciating the satirical swipe at courtly pretension over newly-granted coats-of arms.³

Heraldry worked as satire because its visual and verbal elements were personal and identifiable, while

simultaneously being generalizable and symbolic, and thus less risky for the writer.⁴ In Elizabethan times, however, satire was not always the point of heraldry, since historical drama, a fixture in the repertoire of Shakespeare's company, served to glorify as well as to interpret the past.⁵ It is appropriate, therefore, to begin with Shakespeare's history plays and their use of heraldic imagery. We will first identify and explain the meaning(s) of the heraldic language in two plays, then highlight interpretive dilemmas, and compare the original with the translation into Slovene. The aim of such comparison is never to criticize the excellent translations by Matej Bor, but to consider the extent to which the multiple meanings conferred by heraldic allusion are transferable in-text, or by means of para-textual addenda such as notes.

Shakespeare is undoubtedly the best-known English playwright in Slovenia and one of the few whose entire dramatic oeuvre, although extensive, has been translated into Slovene.⁶ However, studies about the translations are relatively scarce and fragmentary. Exceptions include essays such as Dušan Moravec's from the 1960s, in which he traced the first signs of Shakespeare's presence among Slovenes in the late 18th century and identified several Slovene translators from the second half of the 19th century (Moravec, 1973), or several studies by Zlatnar Moe (2004; 2014; 2016) and Grosman (2002), in which the authors analysed the cultural, literary and stylistic implications of several Slovene translations and performances of *Hamlet*; stylistic features have also been analysed by Stanovnik (1991), Onič (2013), Onič and Marinšek (2015) and Onič, Marinšek and Zupan (2016). By focusing on heraldic language, the present study aims to shed light on one aspect of Slovene translations that to the authors' knowledge has previously not been addressed.

Methodology and Selection of Materials

The Shakespeare material was selected in a series of stages. First, all the heraldic terminology in the complete plays was sampled, using search engines and accurate keywords for the heraldic topic, such as *arms*, *blazon*, *badge*, and *scutcheon*. Such searching captured too

1 This custom of adopting an image that punned on the arms-bearer's name is called »canting arms« (Oliver & Croton, 2012, 76–77, 192–195, 215; Scott-Giles, 1950, 6, 205).

2 There is agreement among scholars that there was an explosion of interest in heraldic arms in the early Elizabethan period (Cust, 2014, 197; Will, 2014, 266; Fitzsimons, 333–334). Ailes (2014, 115) gives a list of works dealing with heraldry that Shakespeare might have known (six in his lifetime), and Groves counts »at least forty-six heraldic works published during Elizabeth's reign« (Groves, 2014, 240).

3 See Kathryn Will for further discussion of the lines from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Will, 2014, 278).

4 See Will for the suitability of heraldic symbols in satire (Will, 2014, 269); and Clive Cheesman for an instance of heraldic satire by Shakespeare's contemporary Ben Jonson in 1599 (Cheesman, 2014, 69–70).

5 There is also statistical evidence that the Elizabethan age saw a surge in the popularity of arms, measured by the number of grants or re-grants of arms (Cheesman, 2014, 89–94). Peers at Elizabeth's court were anxious to establish that their genealogies predated the Norman Conquest and went »back to the Anglo-Saxon monarchy« (Adams, 2014, 5).

6 A good illustration of Shakespeare's popularity is the existence of six different Slovene translations of *Hamlet* (see Zlatnar Moe, 2014), which is an exceptional number even for classics in the Slovenian literary setting. Another one is that in the two decades between the World Wars, the two professional theatre companies in Ljubljana and Maribor staged 32 separate productions of Shakespeare's plays (Slivnik, 2000, 44).

wide a selection, many items of which had nothing to do with heraldry (*arms*, for instance, sometimes means the upper limbs of the body as in Romeo's »*Eyes, look your last! / Arms, take your last embrace!*« in Act V. iii of *Romeo and Juliet*). Therefore, the list of passages was subsequently narrowed by careful attention to the context of keywords. The authors also relied on previous studies of Shakespeare's heraldry (Groves, 2014; Fox-Davies, 1909; Maskew, 2009; Lea & Seaton, 1945; Ramsay, 2014; Rothery, 1930; Scott-Giles, 1950; Will, 2014), to gain the benefit of over a century of scholarship on the subject. No comparable studies on heraldry in Shakespeare's works exist in Slovene. Our pruned search results were therefore checked against the standard heraldic examples from the literature in English, and extra search keywords were generated (e.g. *field*, which would not at first glance seem to be heraldic, but did prove to be key to some examples, as in references to Jack Cade's descent: »*the field is honourable*« (*Henry VI pt 2 Act IV sc ii*)).

From the compiled list, it was apparent that, although heraldic references occurred across Shakespeare's oeuvre, they did tend to be more frequent in the plays dealing with English history. In non-history plays, heraldic references were frequently metaphorical, as in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (see Gadpaille & Zupan, 2016), functioning as vehicles to convey meaning about other topics, politics or gender, for example. Only in the history plays did heraldry refer directly to historical reality: the existence of a tradition of assigned coats of arms, with a standard symbolism and a clear dynastic significance. For the purpose of this article, we narrowed the field further, to only two history plays, one from each of Shakespeare's two tetralogies. This gave us two sets of usages, encompassing several years of Shakespeare's dramatic work, although dealing with the same historical period: the dynastic conflict that would come to be known as the Wars of the Roses. Our selection thus gives us compositional diversity along with historical unity.

Selection of the Slovene translations was simplified by the existence of one translation of *Henry IV* and *Henry VI*⁷ by the same translator, Matej Bor. The corresponding passages in the Slovene plays were identified, including any accompanying explanatory notes, and clear back-translations were established before any conclusions were drawn about the translatability of heraldic terminology. We also examined Bor's original handwritten translations of both plays and publishers' proofs, which are kept by the National University Library in Ljubljana (Bor, MS 1956a, 1956b, 1956c)⁸. Different versions of both texts offer a valuable insight in Bor's creative process. The handwritten version thus includes different versions of individual lines and

Bor's notes about the parts of text that he considered problematic. The proofs mostly contain typographical corrections such as misspellings or incorrect capitalizations; however, additional comments and justifications of particular translation choices can also be found that are not included in the printed versions.

As is known, drama translation represents a special subfield of literary translation (Bassnet, 2014). It differs from the translation of other genres in that dramatic texts typically are not meant to be read but performed on stage (sometimes both). In turn, translation strategies may vary because on stage, the spoken word is also accompanied by movement, gestures, lighting, sound effects and everything else that makes up the theatrical experience (see Windle, 2012). Our analysis also tried to address these aspects. We know that *1 Henry IV* was translated for stage in the early 1950s and performed by Slovene National Theater in Ljubljana in the 1955/56 season, directed by the well-known Slovene dramatist and director Bratko Kreft. The show opened on Christmas Eve in 1955 and had 28 performances (Sigledal). It became an instant success and won the director the Prešeren Award, Slovenia's highest award for culture, in 1957. It is particularly notable that the actors praised Bor's translation for »*being so natural and intuitive that it is a pleasure to say these verses or sentences in prose*« (qtd. in Moravec, 1973, 453). Slovene National Theater in Ljubljana also performed Part 2 of *Henry IV* in 1956; however, it was slightly less popular with the theatergoers (Moravec, 1973, 454). Bor's translation of *Henry VI*, on the other hand, is yet to be performed on Slovene stage.

Both book editions with *Henry IV* and *Henry VI* came with afterwords. The afterword to *Henry IV* was written by Bratko Kreft (1957). Kreft's study presents Shakespeare's life, historical background of his history plays as well as an analysis of the characters in the play. The afterword for Shakespeare's drama series that included *Henry VI* was the work of Dušan Moravec (1973). Moravec wrote an extensive 160-page essay in which he systematically presented the reception of Shakespeare among Slovenians, including performances in various Slovene theaters. He also dedicated much attention to translation-related questions, comparing and evaluating the work of different Slovene translators of Shakespeare. He held Bor's work in high esteem.

The Translator: Matej Bor

Although the best known translator of Shakespeare into Slovene is Oton Župančič, some of the plays were later translated by Bor: *1 Henry IV* in 1957 and *2 Henry VI* in 1971. Bor's life equipped him well to work with

7 The 1978 edition of the plays was used in the study of Slovene translations (Shakespeare, 1978); and the New Oxford Shakespeare edition for the original English text (Shakespeare, 1988, 1999, 2002).

8 The authors wish to thank National University Library (NUK) and the copyright holders Manja Pavšič and Matej Pavšič for permission to include pictures of Matej Bor's manuscripts in the article.

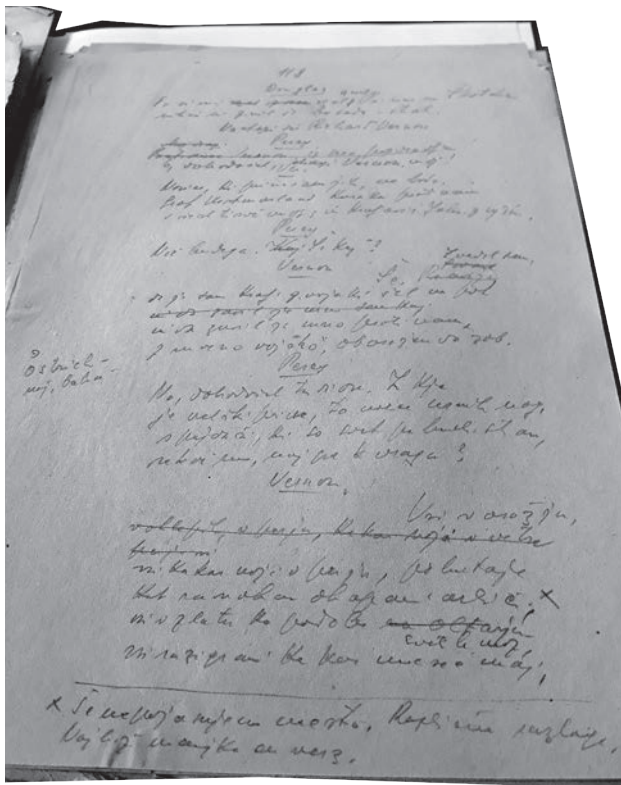


Figure 1: Bor's handwritten translation of Vernon's speech (Bor, 1956b) (NUK Ljubljana, printed with permission of Manja Pavšič and Matej Pavšič).

dramatic material about the Wars of the Roses, including themes of identity, border conflict and war.

Matej Bor (1913–1993) was a Slovene writer, critic and literary translator. Between the 1950s and 1970s he translated 19 of Shakespeare's plays into Slovene. Even though Bor received no formal training in English, he had a talent for foreign languages and spoke several. He also lived in England for a year in the 1950s to »surmise my [Bor's] way to Shakespeare in ways that go beyond merely his words« (cit. in Glavan & Komelj, 2013, 359). In his Shakespeare translation, Bor received considerable support from his wife Anuša Sodnik in the capacity of »advisor, researcher, author of notes and forewords, which is why she is listed as co-author in some translations« (Glavan & Komelj, 2013, 157). According to their daughter Manja Pavšič, Bor »consulted Anuša about different versions of the text, they spent hours and hours together trying to find the best one so that it would sound right and turn out the best« (cit. in Glavan & Komelj, 2013, 157). In an interview, Bor pointed out the personal significance of his work on Shakespeare: »If the time that I sacrificed for translations of Shakespeare, as

many as 19 of his works, if I had used this time for my own texts I could have said more. Nevertheless, I do not regret the days and years that I spent with Shakespeare in his world« (Vončina, 1993, 171–172). Bor believed that good translation was »re-creation« of the original work and a »new aesthetic reality« (Jevtič, 1981, 128). His translations are still used for on-stage productions by Slovene theatre companies.

HERALDRY IN THE HISTORY PLAYS

1 Henry IV

1 Henry IV makes a good place to begin, since it exhibits a combination of serious and comic uses of heraldic diction. This play dramatizes events during the Wars of the Roses, when Henry Bolingbroke usurps the throne from his cousin Richard II and spends the rest of his reign quelling uprisings against this dynastic coup. Bolingbroke, now Henry IV also faces a domestic uprising, in the form of an »unruly son« Prince Hal, who eventually reforms and proves himself on the battlefield.

In 1 Henry IV many of the heraldry references occur in the battlefield scenes, at the Battle of Shrewsbury (fought against the northern rebels in 1403) in acts IV and V of the play. This is the point where the delinquent Prince Hal must finally leave the world of the tavern behind and step out in public as a man and a warrior.⁹ There are two clusters of heraldic references, one concerning the Prince of Wales, and the other, his father, Henry IV.

The first set of references occurs in Sir Richard Vernon's speech (IV i) praising Prince Hal, who has gratified onlookers by turning up for the battle and looking the part of the warrior prince. After his scapegrace youth in the tavern, Prince Hal now seems the perfect soldier. The situational irony of the speech arises from its being delivered in front of Hotspur (Henry Percy), the Prince's rival, in response to his question about the Prince's whereabouts:

VERNON: All furnish'd, all in arms;
All *plumed* like estridges that with the wind
Baited like eagles having lately bathed;
Glittering in golden coats, like images;
As full of spirit as the month of May,
And gorgeous as the sun at midsummer;
Wanton as youthful goats, wild as young bulls.
I saw young Harry, with his beaver on,
His cuisses on his thighs, gallantly arm'd . . .
. . . (1 Henry IV Act IV. 1; emphasis added)

The image at the centre of the speech is the »sun at midsummer«, comparing the prince to the prime among the heavenly bodies and a symbol associated

⁹ According to historian Peter Saccio, Prince Hal was better prepared for kingship than the legend suggests (Saccio, 2000, 58–59). Shakespeare was following the Tudor historian Raphael Holinshed for the events of the period. However, popular legends about Prince Hal's mis-spent youth also shaped the character, especially a successful previous play, *Famous Victories of Henry V* (Bevington, 1980, 550).

with the royal family (Groves, 2014, 244–245). Other terms from the heraldic vocabulary might be less recognizable, although Vernon uses the simplest heraldic terms: *arms*, *plume[s]*, *coats* and *beaver*. These terms are the ones most closely associated with a knight's armour. Because of this military association, none of the terms is exclusively heraldic, and it is easy to miss the heraldic connections. Beatrice Groves, however, points out the potential for double and multiple meanings in such common heraldic terms Groves (2014, 243).¹⁰

Arms

The word *arms*, in the phrase »all in arms,« includes two senses: first, »wearing his complete armour for fighting« and second, »displaying his heraldic arms.«¹¹ These two meanings overlapped to a considerable extent in practice, because armour always showed family and liege loyalty. The word cannot simply mean »carrying the necessary defensive and offensive weapons« because that is covered by *furnish'd* earlier in the line (»all furnish'd, all in arms«). Harry is both furnished practically **and** in arms symbolically.

Vernon's speech looks different in Bor's translation:

Vernon: Vsi v orožju,
vsi v perju kakor noji, prhutaje
kot ravnokar okopani orliči,
vsi v zlatu kot podobe svetih mož,
vsi razigrani kakor mesec maj,
svetli kot sonce sred poletni dni,
divji kot bikci, živi kot kozlički.
Videl sem Harrya – na glavi šlem,
na stegnih golenice; (Bor 252)

[Vernon: All of them in arms,
all of them in plumes like ostriches, fluttering
like lately bathed young eagles,
all of them in gold like the images of holy men,
all of them full of spirit like the month of May,
bright like the sun amidst the summer days,
wild like young bulls, lively like young goats.
I saw Harry – on his head a helmet,
on his thighs shin guards;] (Bor 252)¹²

In Slovene, »all furnish'd, all in arms« is reduced to one statement (»Vsi v orožju«), indicating that the translator read this parallel line as a poetic redundancy, in which each segment has identical semantic content. As a result, any possibility of heraldic allusion or punning is eliminated. The other major difference for Slovene readers is that Vernon is using the plural in Slovene. »Vsi« is the plural of *all*, meaning »the

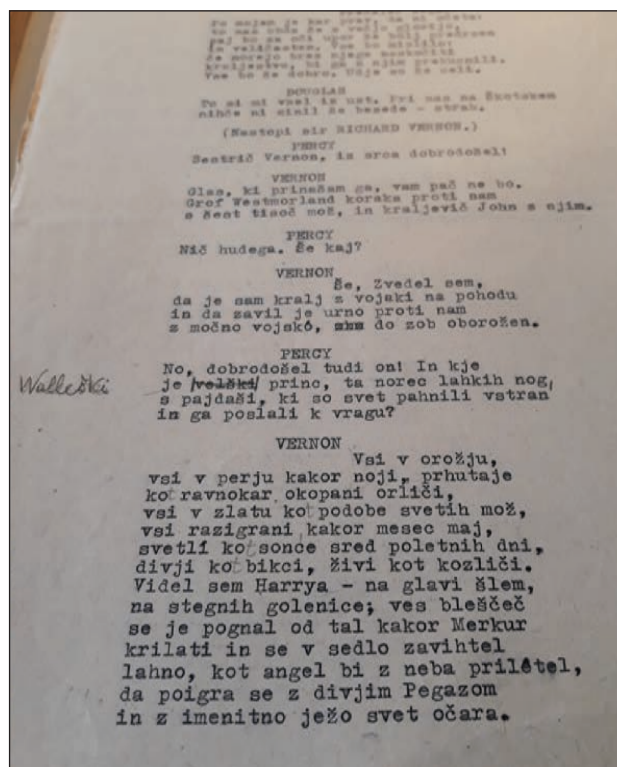


Figure 2: Bor's corrections of Vernon's speech in a typewritten manuscript (Bor, 1956b) (NUK Ljubljana, printed with permission of Manja Pavšič and Matej Pavšič).

entire number of, the individual components of, without exception« (OED Sense 2). While Shakespeare's »all« is »the whole extent, substance, or compass of« (OED Sense 1), meaning all of the Prince himself. The speech in Slovene becomes singular only with »Videl sem Harrya« (I saw Harry); up to that point, Vernon's visual descriptors refer to Harry's whole company. This limits the possibility for its images to echo the heraldic achievement of the Prince of Wales—even when the translator deals accurately with the sun, the royal emblem: »svetli kot sonce sred poletni dni.« The retention of metrical regularity in this line is masterful. »Arms« thus becomes a missed opportunity to set up the heraldic extended metaphor. »Sun«, being a clear visual image and more obviously symbolic, survives to form the central line in the Slovene version of the speech, though not applied exclusively to the Prince. The line »baited like eagles having lately bathed« is interesting because Bor's handwritten version includes an asterisk and a note saying »meaning not yet clear« and adding that »several interpretations exist« (Bor, MS 1956b). It is interesting that Bor even assumed that »one verse was missing [in English]« (Bor, MS 1956b).

¹⁰ See also Groves (2014, 254–255), for further discussion of Vernon's speech.

¹¹ Fox-Davies establishes the several senses of the word *arms* (Fox-Davies, 1909, 1).

¹² For clarity, Bor's translations have been back-translated; the text in square brackets is the back translation.

Coats

Another double meaning lies in *coats*, which here indicates the gilt surface of the holy images to which Hal is being compared, but also the cloth surcoat over the metal armour of a knight (Fox-Davies, 1909, 57), always bearing a graphic representation of the bearer's badge or coat of arms (Scott-Giles, 1950, 205). David Bevington and David Scott Kastan (the Arden edition) both offer explanations of how military surcoats were embroidered with heraldic arms. The translation omits any equivalent for *coats*, instead incorporating information about the holy images into the play text. »*vsi v zlatu kot podobe svetih mož*«. ¹³ This explication bridges text with paratext and may reflect the familiarity of the Slovene audience with the gilded Gothic or Rococo altars of Slovenia's many churches. The solution still sidesteps the heraldic pun in the original, which results in a loss of connection with later references to *coats* in Act V. Nevertheless, Bor does catch Vernon's incantatory anaphora with the repetition of *Vsi v* in three lines and *vsi* in a fourth.

Plumes

Another heraldic item referred to is the plumes on the Prince's crest »*all plumed like estridges*«. Most editions gloss *estridge* as ostrich, while Kastan cites the fact that three ostrich feathers made up the emblem of the Prince of Wales. ¹⁴ This is the issue at the moment—whether he is worthy to be the heir of Henry IV. However, even had Hal *not* been the Prince of Wales, he would have been wearing these feathers because the metal crests atop helmets were replaced by ostrich feathers for battle (Fox-Davies, 1909, 464–466; Lea & Seaton, 1945, 321). Vernon is either stressing the battle-readiness of Prince Hal (he's wearing his fighting kit), or indicating the young prince's complete identification with his role as heir to the kingdom: he is Prince of Wales in truth and is proud to declare this.

The Slovene lines dealing with the Prince's crest opt for ostriches »*noji*«, while changing from a participle »*plumed*« to a prepositional phrase »*v perju*«; »*perju*« connotes actual bird feathers (because these are immature eagles, but not eaglets in the nest) rather than feathers converted to »*personal adornment*« (OED sense 1, but still adequately conveys magnificence of attire: »*vsi v perju kakor noji, prhutaje /kot*

ravnokar okopani orlič«—while incidentally setting up an end-rhyme (*orlič*/*kozlič*). The Slovene plumes are made to flutter »*prhutaje*« in a successful move by the translator to create a strong visual and kinetic image connoting magnificence and virility.

Beaver

Beaver on (»*I saw young Harry with his beaver on*«) is glossed by Kastan as the »*face mask of helmet closed*«, in agreement with Scott-Giles definition of beaver as »*the moveable face-guard of a helm*« (1950, 204), thus indicating that Hal has lowered his visor and is ready to fight. ¹⁵ Since the face mask would be closed in this reading, Vernon would need to have identified the Prince solely by his heraldic trappings (Fox-Davies, 1909, 17–18). In contrast, Bevington reads *beaver* as a synecdoche for helmet—in accordance with the second sense given by Scott-Giles (1950, 204)—thus reading the whole as meaning, *wearing his helmet*. In this reading, Vernon would probably have been able to see the Prince's face; so, this interpretation places less stress on the identification function of heraldic devices on the battlefield. Either way, Vernon is stressing that Prince Henry has not turned up to be a mere spectator at Shrewsbury but is fully prepared for combat. The totality of the transformation of playboy prince to valiant warrior forms the gist of Vernon's message to Hotspur.

The translator chose simplicity here, using an archaic general noun—»*na glavi šlem*« ¹⁶—so the Slovene Harry is wearing a helmet, with no issue of visor up or down. Moreover, in this line the reference is to Harry himself, so the Slovene version has finally focused on the Prince. Part of the difficulty for the translator would have been the paucity of Slovene terms for medieval armour of any kind. Up to the early 20th century, any aristocratic activities in the territory that is now Slovenia would have occurred primarily among German-speaking people, and have received German terminology, ¹⁷ but such wording would have fallen both into disuse and out of favour in the 20th century. *Beaver*, however, is an exception because it does have a Slovene equivalent, *nabradnik*, but this would be recognized only by specialists in the field. On the other hand, *cuisse* lacks a single-word equivalent in the target language, being typically referred to by descriptive phrases such as *stegenski oklep* or *stegenski*

¹³ A pun on »*coats*« is entirely possible in Slovene—see the translation for Douglas's threat to »*murder all his [the King's] coats*«.

¹⁴ Fox-Davies explains that the three ostrich feathers formed the badge of the Earldom of Cornwall and were first used by Edward the Black Prince (1909, 458; 464–466). Scott-Giles cautions that the exclusive association with the Prince of Wales only came later (1950, 90) and reminds readers to keep the reference in its Elizabethan context: »*When Shakespeare wrote Henry IV there was no Prince of Wales ... and there had not been a Prince of Wales for nearly ninety years*« (Scott-Giles, 1950, 90).

¹⁵ See Oliver and Croton for an explanation of styles of European helmets in the Middle Ages (Oliver & Croton, 2012, 80–84). The most detailed description of helmets in heraldry and on the battlefield is in Fox-Davies (1909, 303 ff).

¹⁶ »*Šlem*« is the general term; styles of helmet are distinguished by the addition of an adjective as descriptor: e.g. *lončasti šlem* = pot helmet).

¹⁷ Similarly, in English much of the diction from armory and heraldry is Norman French, with roots in Latin—not Anglo-Saxon.

ščitnik. These expressions would have been unsuitable to Bor for metrical reasons, even had he been familiar with them. Instead, Bor used the single-word expression *golenice*, which is problematic because it semantically deviates from the original as it corresponds to shin guards instead of *cuisses*, armor for protecting the front part of thighs (OED).¹⁸

Glossing Vernon's Speech

Overall, the English editors gloss this speech heavily, Davison with 7 notes (Davison, 1968, 382–383, note), Bevington (1980) with 12 notes in all, and Kastan (Shakespeare, 2002) with 14 (reflecting the scholarly mission of the Arden editions). The thick layer of notes indicates that the normative reader is expected to require and deserve help with these arcane passages. Clearly, the lay English-speaking reader will not necessarily appreciate the double meaning of *coats* without help from the editor, but *arms* has a double meaning that is readily accessible. In translation, therefore, one would ideally hope that the double meaning of *arms* could be preserved and that *coats* might receive a footnote to point out the two meanings. Neither of these apply to this Slovene translation, however.

In Slovene, the speech thus loses its heraldic content and connotation, starting from the loss of double meaning in *arms*. Since the first line in English refers to the wearing of both physical armour and heraldic trappings, this constitutes a loss of an important key to the heraldic cues in the rest of the speech. Vernon's descriptors emerge as sensory rather than symbolic in translation.

Moreover, the Slovene translation received almost no annotation, making it unlikely that the Slovene reader/audience will find in this speech any references to the system of heraldic symbols beyond that of the royal sun, which is pluralized here, and thus applies to a company and not exclusively to the Prince. What does not get transferred is the idea that the Prince is now physically, mentally and *dynastically* fit to be the heir to the throne of England.

Heraldry in Battle: 1 Henry IV, Act V

When heraldic terminology resurfaces in Act V, we are in the midst of the battle, and the Scots Earl of Douglas has just killed Sir Walter Blount, having mistaken him for King Henry. This is the climax of the play and features wordplay showing that Hotspur has seen through the ruse of disguising soldiers in the royal coat of arms.¹⁹

The king hath many marching in his coats.
(1Henry IV Act V. 3; emphasis added)

Hotspur's word play permits the interpretation, »the King has many supporters in this battle,« as well as the related, but less flattering, »the king has allowed soldiers in disguise to impersonate him.« Here is Bor's translation of the key line:

Še dosti jih je v kraljevi opravi. (Bor 270)

Here, *coats* has the two meanings previously established, one of which is heraldic (surcoats painted with coats of arms). Douglas, however, picks up only one of the meanings and plays with it:

Now, by my sword, I will kill all his coats;
I will murder all his wardrobe, piece by piece,
Until I meet the king.

Potem opravim, naj me ubije grom,
z vso kraljevo opravo, kos za kosom,
dokler ne najdem njega! (Bor 270)

[Then I shall deal, by Jove!,
with the king's outfit, piece by piece,
until I have found him!] (Bor 270)

In Douglas's usage, *coats* is metonymical with the non-heraldic meaning, and when the second line drifts to the associative *wardrobe*, the whole thing takes on a tone of black humour. This is in keeping with the tone of a battlefield that includes Sir John Falstaff and his burlesque military exploits. The Arden edition gives a lengthy note and a paraphrase of the line (Kastan, 2002, 321). The pun on *coats* is covered by referring the reader to the earlier speech by Vernon.²⁰ Moreover, Kastan, locates the line historically, giving the passage from Holinshed with which Shakespeare was working. Notably, Holinshed does not include heraldic terminology or puns, using instead »*sute and clothing*,« indicating that the inspiration for heraldic punning was purely Shakespeare's (Kastan, 2002, 321).

In Slovene translation, the second meaning is maintained and the black humour preserved with the archaic usage *oprava*, and the slippage from *opravim* to *opravo*. Since the verb means »to deal with, to finish off« it is particularly apt in this battlefield context, while keeping both the physical threat and the comic bluster of the original. *Oprava* means both outfit (as in complete costume) and company (as in military group),

¹⁸ The authors wish to thank Tomaž Lazar from the National Museum of Slovenia for his comments on armory and heraldry.

¹⁹ Adrian Ailes discusses the incident, stressing that the wearing of heraldic arms could put the wearer in danger on the medieval battlefield (Ailes, 1993, 5).

²⁰ Other editors also connect this usage of coats with the earlier one in Vernon's speech (cf. Davison, 1968, 409 note).

so the original punning activity is intact. However, the sense of *coats* as heraldic identification of the king is lost and with it the allusion to Vernon's earlier speech—this is not a fatal loss of meaning, but it might have merited a full explanatory gloss.

Bor has, however, loaded Douglas's short speech with excellent touches: he swears »*By Jove*« rather than by his sword, in a very idiomatic usage; he maintains the parallelism in *piece by piece* (*kos za kosom*), while keeping the pun because *kos oblačila* is a common usage for clothing; finally, he adds alliteration and further parallelism in *ne najdem njega*. This sound effect compensates for the loss of the strong (phonetically and semantically) monosyllable *king* at the end of the English line.

2 Henry VI

Shakespeare's early trio of plays about Henry VI were collaborative works and include scenes by the dramatist Christopher Marlowe.²¹ There is much magnificent language and versification in these plays, including tremendous characterization of historical figures such as Clifford, Warwick and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.

Heraldic Identification

2 *Henry VI* contains several overt references to heraldry. Some are minor, as with the reference to the emblem of the »lofty pine« (II. iii), referring to the symbol on the badge of Henry IV. There is another brief allusion when Suffolk pleads for his life by asking his assassins to take note of his equestrian badge:

Look on my George; I am a gentleman (IV. 1).²²

Tu je moj Jurij, vidiš? Plemič sem. (Bor 655)

[Here is my George, see? I am a nobleman.] (Bor 655)

The contemporary reader of Shakespeare in English will need a note to understand what a »George« was (the Order of the Garter, founded by Edward III). The Slovene translation also provides an explanatory note (1042). In either language, this is the kind of arcane knowledge that can be conveyed on the stage through gesture—provided that the director has a note to help in decoding the reference.

There should, however, be no difficulty in either language with decoding the reference to the fleur-de-lis of France when the Duke of York promises his army that France will be retaken:

A sceptre shall it have, have I a sword, / On which I'll toss the fleur-de-luce of France (V. 1).²³

In v moji tudi bo, če imam kaj duše, / in lilija francoska bo na njem. (Bor 679)

[[And in my it will also be, have I any soul, and French lily shall be on it.] (Bor 679)

The allusion is explained in an end-note: »*Fleur-de-lis, symbol kraljevske hiše*« (1044), even though Bor would have been able to count on wide familiarity with the fleur-de-lis as a heraldic symbol among Slovene readers.²⁴ What changes in translation is the tone of martial threat; the sword vanishes, replaced by »duše«, which connotes courage or spirit. The speech is thus milder in Slovene and has a more noble tone of spirituality, in the absence of the rather coarse image of swords irreverently tossing things about.

Jack Cade: The Pretender to Arms

Further heraldic references emerge from the scenes depicting Jack Cade's Rebellion (1450), which forms a strong sub-plot in 2 *Henry VI*. Shakespeare's Cade is an oafish proletarian, who claims royal descent. He pretends to be a scion of the Mortimers and jokes about his heritage with the Butcher in Act IV scene ii, eliciting this satirical aside from the Butcher:

Ay, by my faith, the field is honourable, and there was he born, under a hedge; for his father had never a house but the cage« (IV. 2 48-50)

Dick: Ali pa sredi blago-rodnega polja, ki pa tudi ni bilo prida, če je rodilo blago, kakršno si ti. Kar pa se doma tiče: tvoj oče ga ni imel, razen kletke, / v katero so ga vtaknili. (Bor 660)

[Or in the middle of the goods-bearing field which but was not worth much if it bore goods like you. Regarding your home: your father had none, except for the cage, / into which he was put.] (Bor 660)

21 The judgement was made by the editors of the *New Oxford Shakespeare* (Taylor, Jowett, Bourus & Egan, 2016), where the play is listed as having been authored by William Shakespeare, Christopher Marlowe and others (Taylor, Jowett, Bourus & Egan, 2016, 255).

22 Scott-Giles conjectures that, since the character Suffolk is in disguise, he could not be displaying his Order of the Garter; the »George« must therefore be the »jewel of the order, the figure of St George in armour and on horseback in the act of slaying the dragon« (Scott-Giles, 1950, 169).

23 In heraldry, the fleur-de-lis was associated with the French royal house, there being several legends about how the association began (Oliver & Croton, 2012, 162; Scott-Giles, 1950, 57; Fox-Davies, 1909, 273–274; Rothery, 1930, 34–35).

24 The Bourbon fleur-de-lis forms part of the coat of arms of the town of Laško near Bor's home town of Celje.

Cade may not be aristocratic, but he elicits a pun on »field« in its heraldic meaning. The juxtaposition of the formal background of nobility (*field*, meaning the background colour of the shield before any decoration)²⁵ with the person of no birth—not even a place of birth, other than a hedge in a literal green field (Groves, 2014, 243)—shows popular awareness of the falsity of Cade's claim to aristocratic connections. It can also be read as the uneducated man joking about his own lack of education—the Butcher may be confusing—or feigning to confuse—literal field with heraldic field.²⁶

Bor has made a strong choice here, opting for *polje*, which can carry the double meaning of *field* in the English original,²⁷ while also gaining a pun on *blago* (adj, gentle and noun goods, material). The Slovene word *blagoróden* was used as a title, meaning honourable, worshipful; wellborn; of noble birth; of noble blood; or of good family; it is thus perfect for satirical purposes, going past irony into sarcasm.

In Slovene, Cade's absent father is housed in a prison or dungeon, rather than a cage, thus altering the bestial implication (with its implied derogation of Cade's mother's sexual habits). The speech in Slovene cannot reproduce the heraldic layer to the pun, but Bor has successfully kept the jokes going, making the Slovene Dick eye-rollingly sarcastic about Cade's aristocratic pretensions.

Later, Cade's nemesis, Alexander Iden, will dignify this reference in his speech over the dead body of the rebel:

Sword, I will hallow thee for this thy deed,
And hang thee o'er my tomb when I am dead:
Ne'er shall this blood be wiped from thy point,
But thou shalt wear it as a *herald's coat*,
To emblaze the honour that thy master got.
(2 Henry IV, Act IV. 10; emphasis added).

Iden appears to be planning a display to be hung over his tomb,²⁸ the bloody sword by itself, or perhaps

the sword as an addition to his family arms. It was common for the nobility to re-design, their coats of arms to reflect events in their lives and to have these displayed on or above their tombs (Rothery, 1930, 19, 24, 109–110; Kuin, 2014, 168).²⁹ The subsequent notion of the sword itself as the bearer of arms »*thou* [i.e. the sword] *shalt wear it as a herald's coat*« evokes the herald as the announcer of news, in this case the news that Cade's rebellion is over. The heraldic allusions in this passage can be read both ways: as dignifying the sword itself as a memorial grave embellishment; or, as describing the new coat of arms with its charge of a sword with a bloody point. The heraldic meaning of the verb »*emblaze*«³⁰ holds the key, since it expresses the hermeneutic power of the visual symbols of heraldry—the red blood signifying a complex of issues around violence, death, heroism and sacrifice/martyrdom. This minor character in the drama is thus given the passage that best expresses the power of heraldry.

Bor's translation keeps the blank verse:

O meč, za to te čaka lepa čast;
nad mojim grobom boš visel, ko umrem
in s tebe te krvi nikdar ne otem:
ne, nosi jo na sebi kot plašč sla,
ki oznanja vsem, kaj gospodar velja (Bor 678)

[O the sword, for this great honor awaits you:
over my tomb you will hang when I die
and from you this blood never I shall wipe:
no, wear it on yourself like a herald's coat,
that proclaims to everyone thy master's honor] (Bor 678)

The lines also maintain one of the two main indicators of heraldry: the »*herald's coat*« of the original becomes a »*messenger's coat*« (*plašč sla*), which picks up on one of the original functions of the herald as announcer of news. This conveys Iden's point that the blood-stained sword will broadcast the news of Cade's death and the end of the rebellion. On the

25 See Groves for another example of the punning dramatic use of 'field' in both its mundane and heraldic senses (Groves, 2014, 236).

26 Shakespeare's historical source, Hall's *Chronicles*, has none of these heraldic references, mentioning only that »*The subtill capitayn Jack Cade ... appareled hym selfe in [the] ryche armure*« of the defeated knights Humfrey and William Stafford (Hall 220; quoted in Cairncross, 1988, 169). Therefore, Cade did in a sense appropriate »*arms*,« which undoubtedly came with heraldic insignia.

27 »*Polje*«, inter alia, has the following three definitions in the Dictionary of Standard Slovene (SSKJ):

1. *zemljišče za gojenje kulturnih, krmnih rastlin* [land of plot for growing cultivated, fodder plants]

2. *obsežnejši, razmeroma raven svet* [wide, mostly plain landscape]

3. *enakobarvni del predmeta glede na motive, like drugačne barve na njem; podlaga* [monochromatic part of an object regarding the motifs or figures of different color on it; surface].

28 A footnote in the Arden edition says that »*the hanging of arms and armorial insignia on tombs was a feature of the age*« (2 Henry IV 138). For the use of swords in heraldry, see Fox-Davies (1909, 286–287). For more on the funereal use of heraldry, see Roger Kuin »Colours of Continuity: The Heraldic Funeral.«

29 The tomb of the Black Prince in Canterbury Cathedral features his helm, shield, sword and mail (Rothery, 1930, 109). The real »achievements« (i.e. the actual armour he wore and sword he carried) have been removed for conservation and replaced by replicas on display (www.canterbury-cathedral.org).

30 »*Emblazon*« meant »*to draw or paint a coat of arms in full colour*« (Oliver & Croton, 2012, 215); Fox-Davies distinguishes the verb *to blazon*, »*to describe in words a given coat of arms*,« from *to emblazon*, »*to depict in colour*« (Fox-Davies, 1909, 99).

The Heraldry of Shakespeare

In Scene II. Warwick cries :

Clifford of Cumberland, 'tis Warwick calls !
And if thou dost not hide thee from the bear,
Now, when the angry trumpet sounds alarum,
And dead men's cries do fill the empty air,
Clifford, I say, come forth and fight with me !



The ragged staff and bear of Warwick.

The whole of this passage refers, of course, to the famous badge of the bear and ragged staff associated with the House of Warwick, the symbolism of which is made use of most dextrously by the owner in his arguments. It is a compound badge, the white bear rampant going back, it would seem, to Urso d'Arbitot, one of the great feudal lords who came over with the Conqueror, and created Earl of Warwick. And thus it became feudal and manorial as it were, going with the vast estate and title to the various possessors, the Montacutes, Beauchamps, and Nevills. The Beauchamps brought with them the ragged staff, another ancient cognisance, but Thomas de Beauchamp, 1401, displayed the two badges separately. It was Richard de Beauchamp, 1439, who first had a muzzled bear leaning on the ragged staff. Such amalgamations were not uncommon. The Dacre ragged staff, knot and escallop shell is one other example.

The burgonet which Clifford threatens with his sword and Warwick promises to keep aloft, was a small steel cap, as distinct from the more ponderous helmet, but both alike crowned with its crest or badge.

However, in both heraldry and history the most important badges, which also at a late stage exemplify amalgamation, are the white and red roses of the Royal Houses of York and Lancaster. Shakespeare introduces the subject very poetically in "The First Part of Henry VI," (1). We see coming out from the Temple Hall into the garden the Earls of Somerset, Suffolk and Warwick, Richard Plantagenet, Vernon and another Lawyer. Plantagenet endeavours to resume a

Figure 3: The badge of the ragged staff and bear of Warwick (Rothery, 1930, 48).

other hand, the strongly signifying verb *emblazon* has been shorn of its special meaning, replaced by simply »telling/oznanja« or, at most, announcing. The loss here is of the visually communicative aspect of the sword's function.

The York and Warwick Bears

This badinage about the identity-function of heraldry culminates in a set of references in Act V I 144–146 *2 Henry VI*. The emphasis in this scene falls on the symbol of the bear, a common animal charge in heraldry.³¹

DUKE OF YORK: I am thy king, and thou a false-heart traitor.
Call hither to the stake my two brave bears,
That with the very shaking of their chains
They may astonish these fell-lurking curs:
Bid Salisbury and Warwick come to me. (*2 Henry VI*, Act V. 1; Arden ed.)

The word *bears* is used in the plural by Richard Duke of York to refer to his allies Warwick and Salisbury, who are imagined as York's heavy muscle, his protectors. The reference is to bear-baiting as well as to the heraldic device of the bear chained to a stake. Bear-baiting was a blood sport popular in Elizabethan London, and one that dates back to Europe's Celtic peoples (Gilmour, 1994, 20).

Here is Bor's translation of this key challenge:

York: jaz sem tvoj kralj, izdajalec pa si ti.
Pokličite sem moja dva medveda,
Da preplašite te prežeče pse
Že s samim porožljavanjem verig
Okrog vratov. Hej, Warwick, Salisbury! (Bor 684)

[York: I am your king, the traitor but are you.
call hither my two bears,
to scare away these lurking dogs
by mere clanging of the chains
around the necks. Hey, Warwick, Salisbury!] (Bor 684)

The main image of bears pitted against dogs survives in translation, but some nuances are sacrificed, in particular the adjectives *false-heart* and *brave*.³² Additionally, the noun *stake* does not feature in the translation, and the entire bear-pit has vanished. With-

out its central stake (to which the bears were chained) this crucial image cannot be conjured up. The bears' chains in Slovene are evoked with an auditory rather than a kinetic verb: *porožljavanjem* for *shaking*³³. This is perfectly allowable in translation since, as Maskew maintains, the whole point of the comparison is the ease with which »dogs«³⁴ can be frightened off without physical violence (136).

What is maintained for the Slovene reader/spectator is the sense of ritualized animal conflict, and of York's confidence that his side can easily beat the other³⁵.

After Warwick and Salisbury enter as summoned, Clifford picks up the bear metaphor to taunt York:

CLIFFORD: Are these thy bears? We'll bait thy bears to death,
And manacle the bear'ard in their chains,
If thou dar'st bring them to the baiting place. (*2 Henry VI* Act V. 1; Arden ed.)

As a rhetorical device, the bear metaphor places York's enemies in the despised position of the dogs in the bear-baiting pit, as mentioned in the gloss by the Arden editor (*2 Henry IV*, 145). This violent pastime would have been familiar to Elizabethan spectators. London in Shakespeare's time did have arenas for bull and bear baiting (Greenblatt, 2004, 177; Picard, 2003, 246–248), one in Southwark, close to where The Globe theatre would later be located; some of the London bears even had names (Greenblatt, 2004, 177; Picard, 2003, 247). Because Shakespeare made references to bears and bear-baiting in his plays (e.g. *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *A Winter's Tale*), it is sometimes assumed that he attended such spectacles; however, there is no documentary evidence to support this.

In contrast, this retort looks different in Bor's translation:

Ta dva sta torej? No, če se že gremo
medvedji lov, pritiramo ju v smrt –
verige pa bo dobil kak medvedar. (Bor 684)

[These two it is then? Well, if this is to be
bear hunting, let us drive them up to death –
and the chains will go to some bear ward.] (Bor 684)

31 Oliver and Croton (2012) list the bear among the »popular« heraldic animals and mention that bears were often depicted upright, holding a tree-trunk and muzzled (142), in agreement with Fox-Davies (1909, 198–199).

32 These omissions may reflect the difference in syllable length between English *bears* and Slovene *medveda*. In contrast, the difficult compound adjective *fell-lurking* is exactly conjured by *prežeče*.

33 Compare both versions with the original image from the source, Hall's *Chronicles*, where the Tudor historian uses a rare metaphor: »when the duke of Yorke had fastened his chaine, between these two strong and robustious pillars [his two loyal supporters] [...]: (Hall, *Chronicles* 232; quoted in Cairncross 1988, 175).

34 A bear-baiting dog would have been a »smaller type of Mastiff« bred for strong jaws and tenacity (Gilmour 1994, 20).

35 The Slovene Duke of York does not *bid* his supporters to come (i.e., give orders), but merely calls them himself with a rather colloquial *Hej*.



Figure 4: A chained, dancing bear led by a bearward in exotic dress on a beehive panel (*Panjske končnice*, n.d., printed with permission of Slovene Ethnographic Museum).

The allusion to bear-baiting has been replaced by one of bear hunting, *medvedji lov* (which would not have been likely in context, since there had been no wild bears in England since the Roman period).³⁶ The explanation behind the choice of bear hunting may be cultural; bear-baiting would have been unfamiliar to the Slovene reader (with a concomitant lack of vocabulary), but bear hunting quite common, in a region that harbours some of Europe's last wild bears. The image of the chained, dancing bear was familiar from Slovene tales and folk mythology. Bears also feature in Slovene folk iconography and are often depicted on traditional beehive panels, sometimes anthropomorphized, but often raiding beehives. One 19th-century panel at the ethnographic museum in Ljubljana shows travelling entertainers with a chained, dancing bear led by a bearward in exotic dress (*Panjske končnice*, n.d.).

Bor employs the interesting verb *pritiramo* (track) to conjure up dogs on the scent of their prey. The metaphor becomes one of flight and pursuit—more ignominious for York, Salisbury and Warwick than the original bear-baiting, where the bear is stationary, defiant and heroic.³⁷ The nature of the threat to York is thus slightly changed. Since York in the original metaphor is the keeper of the bears (the *bear'ard* or bear-ward; *bear-*

herd in the *New Oxford Shakespeare*), he is threatened with being chained up along with or in place of the two bears. Bor, however, did maintain the threat to the lives of Salisbury and Warwick (*v smrt= to death*), as well as the menacing, contemptuous tone in Clifford's voice (*če se že gremo / medvedji lov*).

Bor's handwritten version of the manuscript shows that he originally planned Clifford to make a much stronger threat to York:

Ta dva sta torej? No, če se že gremo
medvedji lov, ju bomo v smrt dognali –
njune verige pa medvedarja.

[These two it is then? Well, if this is to be
bear hunting, we shall chase them to death –
and their chains the bear ward.] (Bor MS 1956a)

In contrast to the final printed version of the translation, where Clifford threatens to chain up York, the original line, which Bor crossed out with a pen in the manuscript, said that the bear would be chased to death, its chains in turn killing the bear ward. Clifford's tone thus would have been much grimmer and more removed from the English text. Given that Bor provides no explanation for the change, it is most likely that he

36 Harper (1945, 219). Bears in Shakespeare's London would have been captive and imported. There were bears in the British Isles during the Late Glacial period, but no record of their existing past the Roman period—certainly not up to Tudor times. See Derek Yalden (1999), *The History of British Mammals* for more information.

37 Greenblatt affirms that Shakespeare's opinion of bears was higher than most of his contemporaries. Elizabethans thought of bears (real ones, rather than heraldic ones) as ugly, violent brutes (Greenblatt, 2004, 177), while Shakespeare seems to have admired the courage and doggedness of their baited position (Greenblatt, 2004, 177–78).

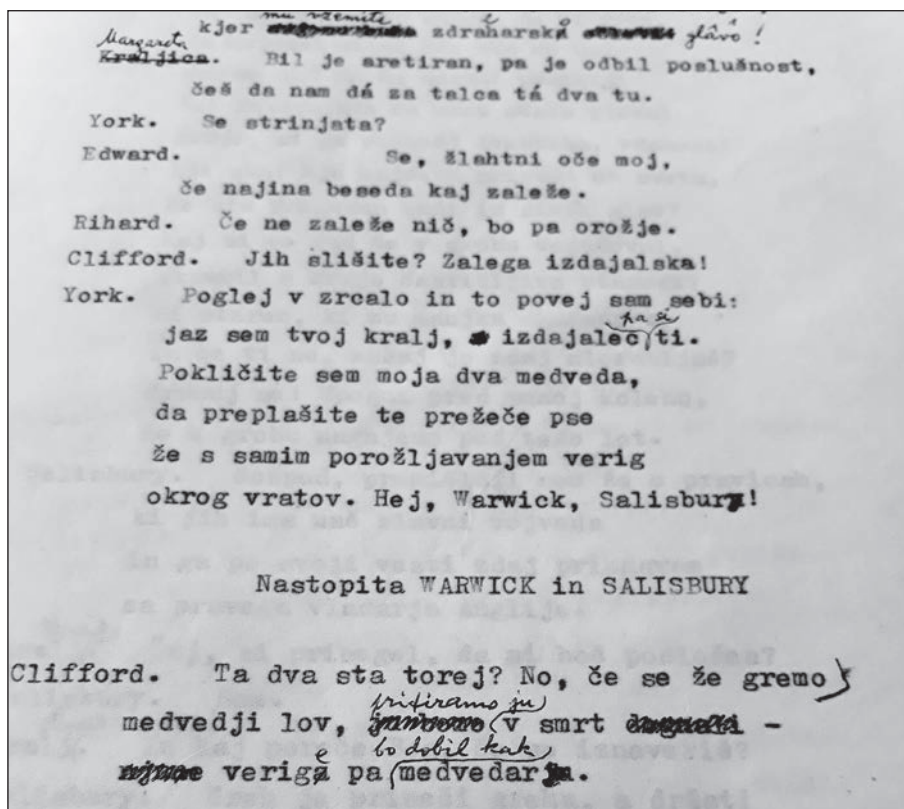


Figure 5: Bor's changes to Clifford's speech in a typewritten manuscript (Bor, 1956b) (NUK Ljubljana, printed with permission of Manja Pavšič and Matej Pavšič).

became aware of a different semantic problem upon one of the subsequent readings.

This short speech by Clifford merits a long entry in the notes in many editions (e.g., Bevington, 1980, 625), especially as there is controversy over whether Shakespeare was using his heraldic bears correctly, about which more below.

The »two brave bears« claimed by Richard, Duke of York (the heir who never became king but whose son, as Edward IV, became the first Yorkist monarch) can plausibly remain as bear-baiting metaphors, for the lay reader, the theatre-goer or the reader of the translation, but in Slovene translation, the conceit is one of bear hunting. Any heraldic connection is invisible unless the reader turns to the notes.

However, when later in the scene Warwick calls upon the Neville crest, bears have crossed definitively

into the realm of heraldry because Clifford asks to have Warwick identified by his »housed badge« (V I 202 Arden ed.).³⁸ To this taunt, Warwick replies with an unmistakably heraldic claim:

WARWICK: Now, by my father's badge, Old Nevil's crest,
The rampant bear chain'd to the ragged staff,
This day I'll wear aloft my burgonet,--
As on a mountain top the cedar shows
That keeps his leaves in spite of any storm,--
Even to affright thee with the view thereof.³⁹

The syntax is confusing, since *Old Nevil's crest* (line 1) is the object of the verb *wear* (line 3). The key word *aloft* is being used as a preposition, not an adverb, as in sense 12b in the OED: »on the top or

38 A badge could be a simple symbol on the coat of arms, but could also be used separately by servants and retainers »to show their allegiance« (Oliver & Croton, 2012, 114). Scott-Giles mentions badges as being used to mark property and to denote »partisans of a cause« (Scott-Giles, 1950, 203), while Groves singles out badges as »a particularly ancient and visible branch of heraldry« (Groves, 2014, 249), in agreement with Fox-Davies (1909, 453).

39 2 Henry VI, Act V. 1. »Rampant« in heraldic jargon described the position of the bear: »rearing on the dexter hind foot, the other three being raised and the tail erect« (Scott-Giles, 1950, 213). See also Oliver and Croton »Of a creature, reared up to fight« (2012, 217). The ragged staff, or log to which the bear was chained would have been familiar to Shakespeare's audience, since popular ballads about the legendary exploits of Warwick included the image (Maskew, 2009, 23–24).

*summit of.*⁴⁰ To paraphrase, Warwick swears by his *badge* to wear the *crest* on top of his helmet, making a clear distinction between two items of heraldic accoutrement. The crest would have been the actual icon (bear, bull or gryphon) and the badge the means of its display on retainers' clothing.⁴¹ The wearing of badges or crests may even have been a useful costuming device on Shakespeare's stage, allowing instant recognition, especially when actors were doubling roles (Rothery, 1930, 43).

The bear and ragged staff (whether or not correctly attributed here) pertained to the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick and would have been familiar to Shakespeare because he was a Warwickshire man (Scott-Giles 1950, 21).⁴² Helen Maskew reminds us that the bear in this passage has two distinct types of signification: »*Shakespeare uses it in two distinct ways: firstly, as an abstract and qualitative reference to Warwick's bravery and strength; secondly, as a device on the heraldic arms of his comital house*« (Maskew, 2009, 133). Moreover, it may have included an implicit stage action, directing the actor playing Warwick to place the crest atop his helm or merely to gesture towards it. This may not all come through in Bor's translation:

Spoznal jo boš po grbu nevilskem –
nevaren medved ob steber priklenjen –
in na ta grb prisegam: moj šlem bo
viden povsod kot cedar vrh goré,
ki zeleni navkljub vsem neurjem,
in kadar ga boš videl, te bo strah. (Bor 685)

[You will recognize it by Nevil's coat of arms –
a dangerous bear to a staff chained –
and I swear to this coat of arms: my helmet will
be visible everywhere as cedar atop the mountain,
which greens despite all storms,
and whenever you see it, you will be afraid.] (Bor 685)

For the Slovene reader, the badge and crest have collapsed into a single heraldic item, the coat of arms (*grbu*, *grb*);⁴³ however, the heraldic allusion is firmly maintained, *grb* being the word most likely to trigger this association in the Slovene reader. Since the modern reader of the English is unlikely to distinguish clearly between badge, crest

and coat of arms anyway, the conflation in the Slovene does not deprive the lay reader or spectator of crucial information. There is, however, no further explanatory endnote, and the curious Slovene reader will have to rely on the note pertaining to the previous passage.

The Slovene bear has a natural descriptor *nevaren*, dangerous, rather than a heraldic one. Since rampant meant »*rearing up in fight*« (Oliver & Croton, 2012, 140), and denoted a specific arrangement of body, forelegs and hind legs, it could only be accurately translated by an exact heraldic equivalent (which does not exist in Slovene). What Bor has achieved in Warwick's speech is the sense of utter confidence proper to a personage who would go on to be known as the Kingmaker. The confidence shows in the free rearrangement of semantic elements: moving the badge and the swearing two lines further into the speech and showing, with that firm colon (*In na ta grb prisegam: moj šlem bo*) the determination that the oath will hold.

The heraldic riddle surrounding this passage has attracted many footnotes, and needs to be explained properly before we deal in greater detail with the Slovene translation. The issue is twofold: 1) is Warwick a Neville? and, the more difficult issue, 2) was there a bear on the Neville crest? We will take the issues in order.

Warwick the Kingmaker swears by one armorial item and announces his intention to wear another. Although the two phrases are not in apposition, it can seem so at first glance, thus implying that his father's badge and the Nevil crest are one and the same. This by itself is unproblematic because the Earl of Warwick is, quite correctly, a Neville by birth, being the son of Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury d. 1460;⁴⁴ his Warwick earldom came through his wife Bevington (1980, 625).⁴⁵ Shakespeare's main source for this play was Edward Hall's *Chronicle*, which specifies that Richard Duke of York »*chiefly entertained two Richardes, and both Nevelles, the one of Salisbury, the other of Warwicke being erle, the first the father, the second the sonne*« (Hall, *Chronicle* 231; quoted in Cairncross, 1988, 175). Therefore, the answer to the first question is yes: Shakespeare was quite correct in making Warwick a member of the Neville family.

The issue about the correct family crest is more complicated. Scott-Giles, one of the earliest experts on Shakespearean heraldry, accuses Shakespeare of

40 The OED cites Shakespeare as one example of this prepositional usage.

41 According to Rothery, heraldic crests were »*the sign of the fighting gentleman*« since a yeoman was not allowed to wear these (Rothery, 1930, 44). Scott-Giles also distinguishes the badge from the crest as each having different functions, the badge's being non-military (1950, 14).

42 Rothery explains that the bear was originally a separate heraldic image from the ragged staff, both pre-dating the Norman Conquest but joined by the Beauchamps (Rothery, 1930, 48).

43 The modern Slovene term for crest is *šlemni okras*, although this appears to be a coined descriptor rather than a term surviving from the Middle Ages and has specific, niche usage (<http://www.grboslovje.si/dragotina.php>).

44 One of the »*two brave bears*« in the earlier speech.

45 See also Baker for a discussion of the Warwick/Neville pedigree (2014, 130); Scott-Giles (1950, 145ff) and Maskew (2009, 6) for further discussion. See Saccio for a clear genealogical chart of the Nevilles (2000, 250–251), revealing that many persons involved here had *Richard* as a Christian name.

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Koga je moč zavezati s slovesno
 prisego, da bo kral, moril ljudi,
 posiljeval brezmadežnost devic,
 pobral siroti njeno dediščino
 ali pa vdovi, kar pritiče nji,
~~ter~~^{es} da je ^{pac} dolžan vse to storiti,
 ker je prisegel, in celo slovesno.

Margaret
 Kraljica. Sofist je odveč, ker je izdajalec zvit.

Henry
 Kralj. Naj pride Buckingham, in to z orožjem.

York. Le kliči ga in vse, kar jih imaš -
 moj sklep je trden: prestol ali smrt.

Clifford. Za to ti jamčim, če kaj daš na sanje.

Warwick
 Warwick. Najpametneje, da greš znova spat,
 da boš čim daljš od bojnega viharja.

Clifford. Pripravljen sem na dosti hujše vihare,
 kot jih lahko prikličeš ti nad nas.
 To ti zapišem tudi na čelado,
 samo da jo tam v bitki razpoznam.

Warwick. Spoznal jo boš po grbu nevilskem -
 nevaren medved ob steber priklenjen -
 in na ta grb prisegam: moj šlem bo
 viden povsod kot cedra vrh goré,
 ki zeleni vsem ²neurjem ³navkljub, ¹
 in kadar ga boš videl, te bo strah.

Clifford. ~~Ti~~ⁱⁿ tvoj medved! S šlema ti ga odtrgam,
 vržem ti ga ob tla in poteptam
 navzlic medvedarju, ki zanj skrbi.

Mladi Clifford. In zdaj k orožju, oče zmagoviti,
 da stremo upornike - vse, kar jih je!

Rihard. Ej, zmoli očenaš - ni da bi zmerjal,
 ker boš nocoj pri Jezusu večerjal.

Mladi Clifford. No, to je več, kot ve kretenstvo
 vaše.

Rihard. Če nočeš v raj, te pa hudič pobaše.

/Odidejo.

Figure 6: Bor's corrections of the Old Nevil's crest passage in a typewritten manuscript (Bor, 1956b) (NUK Ljubljana, printed with permission of Manja Pavšič and Matej Pavšič).

having been mistaken: »here his knowledge was faulty, for he made the Kingmaker speak of the badge as coming from his father, the Earl of Salisbury, whereas in fact he had it, through his wife, from the former Earls of Warwick« (Scott-Giles 1950, 21). However, Scott-Giles is not quite correct, since the badge and the crest are not in apposition, i.e. not the identical item. In order to explain this assertion, one must separate the name and title from the badge itself—that is, keep biology separate from heraldry. In glossing Act I of the play, Cairncross explains that Shakespeare »telescoped »Warwick the Kingmaker with his father-in-law [Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, d. 1439], and merged the two men's accomplishments« (Cairncross 1988, 10, note to line 114).⁴⁶ Similar information is provided in the notes to the Slovene translation (quoted below). However, I argue that in this particular passage Shakespeare is not confusing the two men, simply because Beauchamp could never have referred to his father as a Neville; the speaker is thus imagined by Shakespeare as Richard Neville Earl of Warwick. Speaking as a Neville, he correctly claims a Neville for his paternal ancestor, but is incorrect in claiming the bear as the Neville crest.

Assuming that Shakespeare imagined the speaker at this moment as Warwick and not his father-in-law, then the relevant question is as follows: If the Neville crest wasn't a bear, then what was it? Fox-Davies lists the crest of this Sir Richard Neville as a griffin sejant (388), and Scott-Giles confirms this. The demi-griffin sejant as part of the Neville achievement of arms is pictured in Figure 153 (Scott-Giles, 1950, 145). Nevertheless, if one goes back to Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland (Warwick's grandfather), the family crest is entirely different: »His crest was a bull's head. This would only be used on his great helm« (Scott Giles, 1950, 95). Another heraldic expert confirms that the early Neville crest involved a pied bull (Fox-Davies, 1909, 206). Crests could vary through family lines, and the Neville crest was at one time a bull passant and then a griffin—but not a bear.⁴⁷ Since the bull is an equally pugnacious emblem (the griffin less so), there would seem to be no symbolic reason for Shakespeare to have exchanged the real bull for

the rampant bear⁴⁸—except for the extra dynamism supplied by the reared position of »rampant« (plus its iambic rhythm). The question then is whether this was a conscious choice by Shakespeare, or merely a genealogical slip with no other significance. Some editors and historians support the latter position. One scholar explains the »mistake« wholly by reading »father« as »father-in-law,«⁴⁹ pointing out that Warwick's wife Anne was one of the Beauchamp Warwicks (the senior line, dating back to Norman times) and that the bear pertained to Beauchamp (see also Bradbeer 2015, 96; cf. Bevington, 1980, 624 note).

Scott-Giles similarly explains the bear as a result of the conflation of father-in-law and son-in-law. A black-and-white illustration gives the standard of the Earls of Warwick, clearly showing the bear and staff, with separate staves in a line down the pennant (Scott-Giles 1950, 148). Nevertheless, there remains one problem with this explanation: like the Nevilles, Richard Beauchamp *also* had more than one animal icon for his crest; Scott-Giles names a white swan's head as the Beauchamp crest (145) and provides an illustration (Figure 154). That being the case, Shakespeare must have made a choice of crest animals even in this case, and have chosen the bear over the less warlike swan.⁵⁰ It seems that, even granted a genealogical mistake, Shakespeare nonetheless made a conscious choice of that bear, rather than an incidental error.

Additionally, there is the awkward fact that so many of the characters on stage in this scene could be called »Nevilles.« A Neville ancestor (Ralph Neville d. 1425) had sixteen children, thus scattering Neville genes across the English nobility (Saccio, 2000, 129). His son and grandson both went on to make significant dynastic marriages—into the Earldom of Salisbury and the Earldom of Warwick, respectively (Saccio, 2000, 129). Since the Duke of York himself had also married a Neville (Cecily d. 1495), they are **all** Nevilles in one sense or another (Bevington, 1980, 592 note)⁵¹. Still, the Neville under layer to the aristocracy makes Warwick's assertion trebly powerful, since it reminds everyone present of this bond to *Old Nevil*⁵². Genealogically and heraldically there may be a mistake, but dramatically this is not the case. We must remember

46 A clear explanation is given by Maskew (2009, 79). The overlap of the two historical figures was noted in 19th-century scholarship, as well. Shakespeare did occasionally conflate two historical characters, as with the Mortimers in the Henry IV plays (see Bevington, 1980, 600 note) or the two Beaufort sons who were successively Dukes of Somerset (Saccio, 2000, 93; 104).

47 Fox-Davies asserts that crests were an inheritance separate from the rest of the arms and were transmitted through the female line (1909, 341). See Fox-Davies for a discussion of the Neville bull (1909, 206). Oliver and Croton say that the crest was »not a reliable emblem of identification« (2012, 84).

48 The bull on the Neville crest was »passant«, or in some branches of the family just a bull's head (CITE).

49 Shakespeare has another character use »brother« for »brother-in-law« earlier in the same play (2 *Henry VI* i 193).

50 In the coat-of-arms of the real Duke of Warwick, there were »supporters« on either side: a muzzled, chained bear on one side to reference Warwick (the title claimed through his wife), and on the other, the griffin of Salisbury (claimed through paternal descent) (Scott-Giles, 1950, 147).

51 Even Clifford (John, the 9th Baron Clifford, d. 1461) had a Neville grandmother and the prolific Ralph Neville for his great-grandfather.

52 Rothery agrees that the claim of connection to the Nevilles is both a claim of ancestral sanction for current action and an effective stage device (Rothery, 1930, 10).

that Shakespeare was creating drama, not writing history, and it is dramatically effective to evoke the bear as a sign of individual identity, family belonging and a stance of indomitable defence of a fixed position.

Slovene readers of the Bor translation are given much-needed help in an explanatory note:

Pokličite sem moja dva medveda. Richard Beauchamp, grof Warwick (nastopa v »Henriku V.« in »Henriku VI.« /I. del), poročen z Izabelo, vnukinjo Edmunda Langleya, grofa Yorka, je imel v grbu medveda. Od njega je grb pode-doval njegov zet Richard Neville, grof Warwick (imenovan king-maker), sin grofa Salisburyya. Zeta in tasta je Shakespeare zлил v eno osebo. (Sodnik in Bor 1044)

The Slovene annotator tries to explain the reference by the confusion between son-in-law and father-in-law.⁵³ However, this particular confusion is about the deeds and dates of the two men, and not primarily about coats of arms, as previously established. The brief note to the Slovene edition of the play gives the reader sufficient heraldic information without over-much genealogical detail. Nothing would have been gained by having the editors or annotators delve further into the Neville/Beauchamp genealogy—which would have warranted, at the very least, a graphic of a family tree.

Was Shakespeare simply mistaken in the Neville crest? Or did he make strategic adjustments to the heraldic facts for dramatic convenience? Did he swap father-in law for father in the service of simplicity? Or did he deliberately fudge the reference for particular dramatic purposes? Scott-Giles affirms that *»heraldic language had for [Shakespeare] nothing of the sanctity with which the armorists of the day sought to endue it«* (18); it is therefore not unlikely that the dramatist might have made the arms fit the character with a purely literary rationale.

Theorizing the Rampant Bear

At this point we advance a new theory to explain the bear and ragged staff with reference to contemporary Elizabethan events and not to either literary convenience or historical fact.⁵⁴ Our argument begins from the premise that Warwick's rampant bear represents a deliberate choice by Shakespeare and not an incidental mistake—whether genealogical, heraldic or both.

Although the bear with the ragged staff may not, as Bradbeer and others point out, be the crest of the Nevilles, in Elizabethan times they did comprise the crest of

Robert Dudley 1st Earl of Leicester (d. 1588). The Dudleys had been granted several titles, including the Earldom of Warwick (held by two of Robert Dudley's brothers, successively). This Earldom was an ancient one, reaching back to the Norman conquest. The complicated series of marriages and grants of title that united the Dudley, Warwick and Beauchamp families (and by extension, their heraldic devices) is explained by Simon Adams: John Dudley *»claimed the Earldom of Warwick by descent and adopted the Beauchamp device of the bear and ragged staff, which his sons revived flamboyantly in Elizabeth's reign«* (Adams, 2014, 13–14). The Elizabethan Dudley was even in possession of an elaborately illustrated pedigree (a genealogy), showing his family's descent from *»legendary Anglo-Saxon hero«* Guy of Warwick (Adams, 2014, 17; Fig. 1); this pedigree depicts Guy of Warwick clutching an enormous *»ragged staff, to which is chained a small muzzled bear«* (presumably 'rampant', although its hind legs are partly obscured (Adams, 2014, 17; Fig. 1). The same connection that renders the rampant bear appropriate as a reference for Warwick the Kingmaker in *Henry VI*, makes it suitable as a means of evoking the Elizabethan Robert Dudley. Moreover, Chris Fitter claims that the whole *Henry VI* trilogy is *»thoroughly topical in implication and reference«* (Fitter, 2005, 131), showing that the playwright's main focus was on creating parallels with *»political engagement of his contemporary moment«* (Fitter, 2005, 133), parallels like the one we propose here. Moreover, since Christopher Marlowe was Shakespeare's collaborator, this increases the likelihood of the plays making contemporary political references.

But why might Shakespeare/Marlowe have wanted to make allusion to Robert Dudley? First, Dudley had been Queen Elizabeth's favourite (Shapiro, 2005, 57; Holden, 1999, 77; Greenblatt, 2004, 43). In and out of royal favour, he had died in 1588, not very long before *Henry VI* was written (ca 1590; see Cairncross, 1988, xlv–xlvi; Fitter, 2005, 129). Dudley also served as Deputy to the Earl Marshal of the College of Arms (Adams, 2014, 1) and was thus connected to the official world of heraldry. Dudley had supported the Queen during the panic of the threatened invasion by the Spanish Armada (1588) and long enjoyed a soft spot in her heart; it is therefore conceivable that Shakespeare (or his collaborator) felt that an allusion to Dudley's crest would create a good impression on the Queen, especially given its association in the play with the manly, warlike Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick. Warwick was a legendary favourite in the minds of the English people⁵⁵; as Hicks summarizes, *»no other medieval magnate attracted such acclaim during his life and since«* (Hicks, 1998, 2). Warwick had also boosted the Yorkist line to the throne of England,

⁵³ The Slovene language is rich in terms for family relationships inflected by gender and generation: *zet* and *tasta* are extremely concise.

⁵⁴ See a similar argument in Clare Asquith's essay on *As You Like It*, where the powerful Stanley family is connected to the play through heraldry (Asquith, 2013, 42).

⁵⁵ See Maskew for a survey of the extent to which Warwick had become legendary rather than historical in tales kept alive through widely-circulating ballads (Maskew, 2009, 21–25).

and the Tudor line was descended equally from York as from Lancaster. As a compliment to the Queen's memory of Dudley, therefore, we propose that the reference to the rampant bear is entirely justified, no matter the alleged character conflation or confusions about crests. Dudley's crest also includes the bear and ragged staff. A coloured illustration of the shield and crest of Robert Dudley appears in Figure 2a. (Adams, 2014, 21). The bear and ragged staff are prominent in this 1567 tribute to Dudley.

The Dudley rampant bear and staff are also visible on Robert Dudley's tomb in the Beauchamp Chapel Collegiate Church of St Mary, Warwick. A bear stands on either side of the memorial plaque in Latin, both bears facing inwards, and each chained to the large, upright log. Their chains are gilded and even the bear's heads are gold. Since Shakespeare hailed from Warwickshire, it is likely that he was aware of the Dudley connection of this rampant bear and even possible that he had seen the image on the tomb in Warwick, which is only about 12 miles from Stratford-on-Avon. The Beauchamp Chapel where Robert Dudley rests beside his wife Lettice Knollys forms a veritable primer of heraldry, among whose images, the chained or muzzled bear is everywhere visible.

CONCLUSIONS

From a close look at these examples of Shakespeare's heraldic references, together with their Slovene translations, some conclusions can be advanced.

First, it is clear that the modern English reader or spectator of these two history plays will not understand all the heraldic references and puns. Even Rothery, writing in 1930 admitted that there was by then only a limited circle of those who could »*enter fully into this line of thought*« (Rothery, 1930, 9). The simpler puns (e.g. on *arms*) can be apprehended by modern audiences even on stage, but more complex issues will require learned footnotes. In staging the plays, the director and dramaturge have a responsibility to consult the scholarly notes and try to »translate« their import (or as much of it as is deemed relevant) into comprehensible stage terms. Suffolk's reference to his »George« as a form of identification, for instance, could readily be conveyed with gesture and reaction. Even the Duke of York's »two brave bears« could be staged as a meaningful reference to bear-baiting with the right stage action.

Such a phrase's reference to heraldry would be more difficult to convey—unless, of course, the scene-

ry and costuming made an all-out effort to reproduce historical heraldry. This seems to be the rationale behind Scott-Giles's book, which assumes that what people want to know is which authentic heraldic imagery to use on stage. That would have been extremely useful for earlier audiences attuned to the meanings of lions, bears, escutcheons and bars sinister. For a modern audience, however—all but heraldry aficionados or historical re-enactors—even the most meticulously researched and painted stage coats of arms will be processed as »scenery«—that is, as décor rather than semantics. We have become heraldically illiterate.

For this primary reason, the non-transference of heraldic minutiae into the Slovene translations should cause little concern. The Slovene translators probably faced a scarcity of available heraldic vocabulary in the target language, for reasons that have to do with the history of Slovene within the German-speaking Habsburg Empire.⁵⁶ In this absence, Bor struggled to replicate heraldic allusions and puns, even where these were identified. Nevertheless, he experienced remarkable success in compensating for this lexical gap, finding puns on *oprava*, *polje* and *blago*. Within Shakespeare's puns and allusions he identified workable, parallel semantic structures. Other forms of compensation included archaic diction (*šlem*), parallelism, alliteration, omission of adjectives and the use of concise, informative notes. In a few cases, the choices made by the translator did reflect cultural differences in the target readership (e.g., the choice of bear-hunting over bear-baiting). Overall, the language of the translated version is more formal and genteel, reflecting the qualities of literary Slovene, in which the earthy Anglo-Saxon under layer of Shakespeare's violence and humour often struggles to survive. This observation needs to be contextualized, however, by the fact that these translations were made in the 20th century, when »Shakespeare« was a literary classic and an institution. A good way of evaluating Bor's translations would be to compare them to those made by translators in other languages, particularly those with similar historical and literary tradition; however, such comparison would go beyond the scope of the present paper.

Although the translators provided fewer notes for their Slovene readers, this choice need not be criticized. Certainly, the notes provided by Anuša Sodnik were well researched. In many of the cases cited above, the lay reader of the Slovene text is adequately served by the translation itself and is not led astray on the semantic level. Though a few double meanings,

⁵⁶ Slovene research on heraldry is relatively scarce. The most established scholar in the field is Božo Otorepec, who has produced the only comprehensive historical overview of heraldry of Slovene towns (Otorepec, 1988). Previously, most publications were fragmentary and based on sources in German. Since the official interest in older periods and the history of the nobility, to which heraldry is inextricably connected, declined after the Second World War, knowledge about heraldry and heraldic terminology among the general public has become limited. Recently, an interest in Slovene heraldry has arisen, visible on the internet, on sites such as www.grboslovje.si and www.heraldika.si. Its main driving forces are Franc Valt Jurečič and Aleksander Hribovšek. As a niche interest, however, it is unlikely that its specialist vocabulary has diffused across a wide public.

historical allusions and archaisms do not survive into the target language, this cannot always be expected of a translator who is at the same time observing rhythm, meter and sometimes even rhyme, while communicating to a distinct culture.

Moreover, anyone studying Shakespeare would presumably read these plays in English, and access the notes from there. Any remaining concern with the adequacy of the translation would thus apply to a performance text, where a theatre audience must comprehend in the target language without the help of footnotes. A successful Slovene translation, therefore, might NOT be one that most slavishly duplicates heraldic double meanings, but one that renders obscure passages meaningful to a contemporary theatre audience.

Finally, it is also necessary to comment on Bor's overall translation strategy. Our study showed—in addition to heraldry—that Bor's main concern was how his translations would sound on stage, i.e. what translation scholars refer to as the »speakability« of drama in translation (see Windle, 2012). Indeed, Bor even explicitly pointed out that his first priority was not the readers but theatre audience (qtd. in Moravec, 1973, 453). This may also explain some of the discrepancies regarding heraldry mentioned above. That Bor had a clear translation strategy is also clear from his retort to the critic Branko Rudolf, who

reviewed the translation of *1 Henry IV* in the Slovene National Theater. Even though Rudolf's critique was affirmative in general terms, he nevertheless criticized Bor's rhythm in some of the lines and particularly his choice of individual words, which according to Rudolf were too »modern« because translators of Shakespeare's texts should be using old expressions (Rudolf, 2016 [1958], 123–124). Bor agreed with some of Rudolf's minor points; however, he refused the suggestion that dated language should have been used. According to Bor, Shakespeare should be translated into modern language because it is rich (Bor in Rudolf, 2016 [1958], 128). Regarding rhythm, he rejected Rudolf's idea that the quality of translation should be determined on the basis of a comparison of the number of syllables in the two texts; instead, Bor believed that dialogues should sound natural, spontaneous and speakable as much as possible. At the same time, Bor paid particular attention to retaining blank verse in the target text (Bor in Rudolf, 2016 [1958], 129).

Although this research has been limited to one aspect of Shakespeare's history plays, it has revealed that these rich Slovene translations could be seen as having aged, along with a change in the readership for classic drama. The 21st century might yet warrant fresh translations informed by further scholarship in this area.

TOLMAČENJE IN PREVAJANJE SHAKESPEAROVE HERALDIČNE TERMINOLOGIJE: 1 HENRIK IV IN 2 HENRIK VI V SLOVENŠČINI

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POVZETEK

William Shakespeare je v svojo poezijo in dramatiko vpletel zapleteno heraldično simboliko, ki je v elizabetinski dobi pritegovala pozornost bralcev in obiskovalcev gledaliških predstav. Elizabetinsko občinstvo je v heraldičnih simbolih prepoznavalo številne družinske in rodbinske vezi. Sodobni bralci te zmožnosti prepoznavanja simbolov v grbih pogosto nimamo več, zato smo odvisni od pojasnil v opombah.

Prispevek obravnava usodo heraldičnih simbolov v slovenskih prevodih Shakespeareovih zgodovinskih dram. V ospredju so naslednja vprašanja: v kolikšni meri so bile prevajalci v 20. stoletju na voljo ustrezne simbolnih pomenov, skritih v jeziku, močno zaznamovanem z latinščino, ki je bil nenavaden celo za 16. stoletje? In tudi kadar v ciljnem jeziku obstaja ustrezno besedje, ali to zagotavlja simetrični prenos pomena za sodobnega bralca/obiskovalca gledališke predstave? In slednjič, kakšna je vloga uredniških opomb pri premoščanju vrzeli med heraldičnimi namigi v izvirniku in slovenskem prevodu ter uprizoritvijo na odru?

Avtorja v prispevku obravnavata primere zagonetnega heraldičnega jezika v izvirnem besedilu 1 Henrika IV. ter 2 Henrika VI. in njihove slovenske prevode, ki jih je oskrbel Matej Bor. Prispevek ponuja in utemeljuje tudi novo branje heraldičnih aluzij v drami 2 Henrik VI.

Ključne besede: heraldika, William Shakespeare, Vojna dveh rož, prevod, Matej Bor

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IDEOLOGICAL INFLUENCES ON THE RECEPTION OF KARL MAY IN SLOVENIA

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ABSTRACT

The article discusses the extent to which ideological factors affected Karl May's reception among Slovenians. The analysis encompassed writings about May in Slovenian serial publications from the beginning of the 20th century until the present. The results showed that May's reception during a particular historical period was influenced by both the ideological orientation of the serial publication in which the writer was discussed, which is especially characteristic of the Habsburg era, and the contemporary socio-political situation in the country of which the Slovenian territory formed part at a particular time, which is most true for the socialist era.

Keywords: Karl May, reception, ideology, German literature, popular fiction

INFLUENZE IDEOLOGICHE SULLA RICEZIONE DI KARL MAY IN SLOVENIA

SINTESI

Nell'articolo si discute la misura in cui i fattori ideologici hanno influenzato la ricezione slovena di Karl May. L'analisi si basa su scritti su May pubblicati nei periodici sloveni dall'inizio del novecento fino ad oggi. I risultati hanno mostrato che la ricezione di May in un particolare periodo storico è stata condizionata sia da influenze legate all'orientamento ideologico del periodico in cui si è discusso dello scrittore, il che è particolarmente caratteristico del periodo asburgico, sia da quelle legate alla contemporanea situazione socio-politica dello Stato di cui il territorio sloveno faceva parte in un determinato periodo, e si sono manifestate specialmente nell'era socialista.

Parole chiave: Karl May, ricezione, ideologia, letteratura tedesca, narrativa di genere

INTRODUCTION

Karl May (1842–1912) is the most commercially successful German writer of all time, with estimated sales of more than 200 million copies worldwide (Kimmelman, 2007; Connolly, 2012; Fleischhauer, 2012). While the phrase *nemo propheta in patria* may hold true for many literary figures, May is not among them: although virtually unknown in the Anglo-Saxon cultural sphere (Ferens, 2008, 90; Reagin, 2016, 554; cf. Berman, 2002, 283–84), he has remained popular in Germany throughout the various social, political and economic changes the country has experienced (Berman, 2002, 301). He has also achieved prominence in many other European countries; for instance, Heribert Frhr. v. Feilitzsch even claimed that »Karl May's travel narrations of the 1880s are main sources about the American Southwest for German speaking Europeans« (Feilitzsch, 1993, 173). Jan Makarovič made a similar statement about May perhaps being Europeans' main source of information about the Balkans (qtd. in Šabec, 2004, 54; see also Kappus, 1935; Kurent, 1982, 353), while Nina Berman noted that because May was so widely read, he had a profound influence on shaping people's views of the nations he wrote about (Berman, 1998, 53, 67; see also Ferens, 2008, 108). Kate Connolly gave the following explanation for his enduring popularity across Europe:

At the time of the Kaiser, May provided Germans with a fantasy world to inhabit when ordinary people didn't travel. Later, when communism gripped large parts of Europe, his novels gave a sense of the world that was out of bounds to his captive audience, who hung on his words in a similar fashion to how downtrodden readers of another era must have lapped up their Dickens (Connolly, 2012; cf. Morton, 1987; Berman, 2002, 287–288; Fleischhauer, 2012).

Miha Mazzini even went as far as to state that, considering May's popularity in Central Europe, the region could be referred to as 'Karl May's Europe' (cf. Morton, 1987).¹ This includes the Slovenian nation, which was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire during

the time that May was writing, and since German was the *lingua franca* in the country, Slovenians came in contact with May's works quite early (Hladnik, 1993; Steinmetz, 1994, 313, 320–328).² He remained popular among Slovenian readers until almost the end of the 20th century, and while in recent decades May has not been nearly as widely read in Slovenia as he once was, he is far from forgotten (Pokorn, 2012, 83).³

By means of a comprehensive textual analysis, this article will address how May's reception changed in Slovenia⁴ through successive historical periods; as representatives of reception aesthetics and reader-response theory assert, readers' changing perception of literary works over time deserves just as much attention as interpretation of the texts themselves (Pezdirč Bartol, 2000, 195). Research has shown that ideological interventions were made in Slovenian translations of May's works: occasionally this occurred in pre-World War II translations, but it is more characteristic of the translations published during the socialist era, when the important role of both the Christian religion and German nationality in May's stories was toned down (Pokorn, 2012, 84–92), along with parts of the texts that could be perceived as racist (Trupej, 2017). These and other potential interventions may have influenced the interpretive possibilities of particular works, and thus their reception.

The research was conducted with the help of the Digital Library of Slovenia. The analysed corpus encompassed around 2000 individual issues of serial publications in which Karl May is mentioned. The focus of the discussion will be on articles expressing explicit value judgements about May's persona and/or his works, since this approach will most clearly show how ideology influenced reception.

KARL MAY'S RECEPTION IN THE SOURCE CULTURE

Karl May was born into poverty and in his youth entered upon a life of petty crime, because of which he had spent around 8 years behind bars by his early thirties. After he was released, May began to publish the serialized stories that would soon make him famous. Proceeds from the sales of the book versions of these stories enabled him to acquire many artefacts supposedly

1 Delo, 24. 3. 1998: Slovenski knjižni zid Karla Maya, 21.

2 Among May's early readership were some Slovenians who would go on to become prominent representatives of the intelligentsia, including the nation's most canonized prose writer, Ivan Cankar (1876–1918) (Löffler & Slodnjak, 1976, 471), and the well-known Slovenian-American author, Louis Adamič (1898–1951) (Kurent, 1982, 353). May himself had some ties to the Slovenian nation: he and his wife spent time at the spa in Dobrna in 1907 (Šepetavc, 1988, 185) and were pen-friends with a Slovenian family—despite never having met them in person, May even agreed to be the godfather to one of their daughters (Lajovic, 1964; 1965).

3 In the first half of the 1980s, re-translations of some of May's novels were printed in more than 10,000 copies, which was an imposing number back then, and even more so nowadays, when printings of works of fiction rarely exceed a thousand copies. The most recent book publications of May's works appeared in the mid-1990s: new editions of some pre-World War II translations were published (see the Appendix for the bibliography of all the Slovenian translations of May's novels). To put May's popularity in the 21st century into perspective: in 2007, the ratio between the number of individual copies of May's works and individual copies of J. K. Rowling's or Dan Brown's works borrowed from Slovenian libraries was approximately 1 to 4 (see Trupej, 2017, 124).

4 For the purpose of this article, 'Slovenia' denotes the Slovenian ethnic territory, i.e. the area that now constitutes the Republic of Slovenia, as well as border regions with a Slovenian minority.

substantiating his claim to having visited the lands he wrote about and having performed the deeds he related as the first-person narrator of his stories—a German *deus ex machina* going by the name Old Shatterhand in the novels set in the Old West, and Kara Ben Nemsi in those set in the ‘Orient’. In the late 1890s, May’s fabrications of the accounts of his travels, his false claim of having been awarded an honorary doctorate and his criminal past began to be exposed, which led to a series of libel suits and countersuits; however, all the controversy did not substantially affect his popularity (Fleischhauer, 2012; see also Morton, 1987; Kimmelman, 2007; Reagin, 2016, 557).⁵ In 1923, Aloys Fischer speculated that May’s enduring appeal stemmed from the substantial differences between the civilized, practically organized world, and the world of the ‘Indians’, in which the characters are still allowed to act in accordance with their primal instincts (qtd. in Kordigel, 1990, 15).⁶

May’s *opus* became somewhat problematic in Nazi Germany, since some of his most beloved characters were non-Aryans, and his pacifist views were not in accordance with Nazi militarism (Heermann, 1995, 143–145; Reagin, 2016, 562). During the time that the Nazi Party was in power, some of May’s more pacifist works were thus out of print (Reagin, 2016, 562–563; cf. Lutz, 2002, 178); however, certain of his characters and plots were even employed to endorse Nazi values (Lutz, 2002, 178; see also Feest, 2002, 26; Fleischhauer, 2012; Reagin, 2016, 565). As Stephanie Schwandner-Sievers puts it, »Karl May’s stereotypes anticipated a rhetoric of nature and Heimat, racial purity, anti-Semitism and heroic Übermenschentum« (Schwandner-Sievers, 2008, 57; emphasis in the original).

In the divided post-War Germany, there were different attitudes towards May. By the 1960s, he was no longer politically problematic in West Germany (Reagin, 2016, 570),⁷ while in East Germany—although not officially banned—May was considered *persona non grata* by the government: his works were not published, were removed from libraries and confiscated by customs officers and schoolteachers, etc. (Heermann, 1995, 147).⁸ Among the reasons for

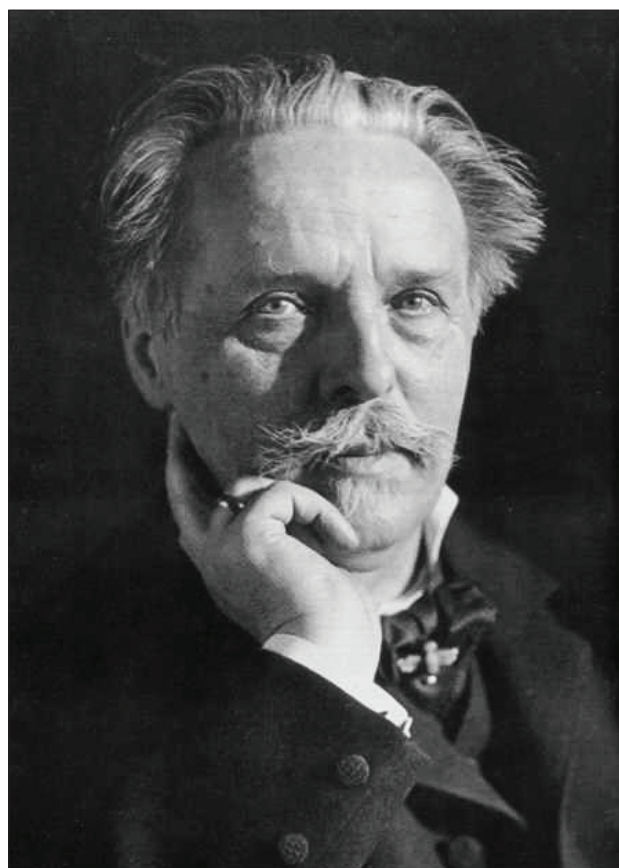


Image 1: Karl May in 1907 (Wikimedia Commons).

May’s unacceptability to the socialist regime were that he was known to have been Hitler’s favourite author and a champion of Christianity (Kimmelman, 2007), as well as that some of his works were perceived as racist and as not affirming the values of the working classes (Heermann, 1995, 166). Furthermore, many of May’s novels were set in the USA—the ideological antagonist of the Eastern Bloc; these works were thus *de facto* perceived as belonging to an ‘imperialist’ American genre (Reagin, 2016, 565).⁹

5 Even in Slovenian serial publications there were reports about May’s contemporary status in German-speaking countries. For instance, *Slovenski učitelj* reports how, at a meeting of Catholic educators in Vienna, one of the speakers stated that May’s books were not suitable to be read by young people, since literature for youth should be »Catholic, morally pure, patriotic and artistically-aesthetic« (N.N., 1905, 48; see also Glonar, 1910, 319–320). Despite attempts to limit May’s popularity, his readers included figures as influential as Kaiser Wilhelm II and Karl Liebknecht, as well as representatives of the intellectual *crème de la crème*, for instance Albert Schweitzer, Hermann Hesse, Albert Einstein, Franz Kafka, Ernst Bloch and Martin Walser (Morton, 1987; Kimmelman, 2007; Fleischhauer, 2012).

6 The German nation has traditionally shown a strong affinity for Native Americans, as is evidenced by the fact that during the time May wrote most of his works, approximately one thousand other titles of ‘Indian fiction’ were published; these had a substantial impact on the German perception of Native Americans (Feest, 2002, 37–38; cf. Reagin, 2016, 554–555, 558). Shortly after May’s death, a culture of ‘Indian’ hobbyists re-enacting his stories began to develop, and this practice remains strong today (Reagin, 2016; cf. Feest, 2002, 31–32).

7 May’s popularity surged again after his works entered the public domain 50 years after his death, and many films based on May’s plots began to be produced. Most enjoyed commercial success and are still shown on TV today, although they are not considered to be of major artistic value (Schmiedt, 2006).

8 No new editions of May’s works were published in the German Democratic Republic until the 1980s (Reagin, 2016, 565–566; see also Morton, 1987; Kimmelman, 2007; Fleischhauer, 2012).

9 Hans Christoph Buch used the term ‘philistine imperialism’ to describe May’s writing (Buch, 1965, 1296).

Some of May's most popular novels are indeed set in the United States during and after the Civil War, but most of the protagonists are Germans or at least have German ancestry (Kriegleder, 2011, 16).¹⁰ Klaus Zelewitz states that, for May's works, it is partly true that Native Americans direct the plot (Zelewicz, 1992, 106); however, it is implied that Winnetou, the most famous Native American character in May's *œuvre*, owes his considerable nobility to his Christian upbringing by a German mentor (Berman, 2002, 290; see also Feest, 2002, 33; Lutz, 2002, 176). Similarly, Dominika Ferens observes that in *Winnetou*, the title character's adoption of Christianity and German values are foregrounded (Ferens, 2008, 92; cf. Feilitzsch, 1993, 173).

Religion and ethnicity also play important roles in May's novels set in Africa, the Middle East and the Balkans. Ferens notes that anti-colonialist messages can be found in May's works (Ferens, 2008, 91, 96; cf. Berman, 2002, 300); however, she further observes that although May propagated good relations between Caucasians and other ethnicities, he presented the former as clearly superior (Ferens, 2008, 91, 98). Berman states that after May undertook a journey to the 'Orient' in 1899, he began to write works of a pacifist and anti-colonial nature (Berman, 1998, 66–67; see also Morton, 1987); however, she also claims that in the series of novels collectively referred to as the *Orientzyklus* (written before May ever set foot in the 'Orient'), the development of the German protagonist »teaches the reader how to think and act like a colonizer, a Eurocentrist, and a racist« (Berman, 1998, 56; cf. Heermann, 1995, 146). Kara Ben Nems's Bedouin sidekick Hadschi Halef Omar is described as physically unimposing and somewhat ignorant; the dynamic between the two characters can be seen as a representation of the relationship between Europe and the Middle East (Berman, 1998, 59). Berman further asserts that May's literary *alter ego* often displays a patronizing attitude towards other 'Oriental' interlocutors (Berman, 1998, 60–62; cf. Ferens, 2008, 91) and »is a self-appointed master and judge, who derives his legitimacy from belonging to Western culture« (Berman, 1998, 62). Such attitudes may be perceived as problematic by many readers in the post-colonial era.

KARL MAY'S SLOVENIAN RECEPTION

Until the end of World War I

Karl May was sporadically mentioned in Slovenian serial publications in the late 19th century, but it is only towards the end of his life—when his persona was also frequently scrutinized in his home country—that value judgements about his works and/or him as a public figure begin to be expressed. For instance, a report in the Catholic literary magazine *Dom in svet* about a court case May brought against a publishing house states that one should not believe the famous writer actually performed the unsurpassably heroic deeds he describes, and that he is not too particular as far as his rich imagination is concerned, but that his writing is always morally decent.¹¹ Similarly, in an article published in the conservative newspaper *Straža* about the events that led to May divorcing his first wife, his works are described as interesting, but perhaps too fantastical; the anonymous author of the article claims that in ill-treating his ex-wife, May showed his true colours.¹²

Several noteworthy articles about May were published in 1910. An article appearing in both *Edinost* and *Učiteljski tovariš* reports that May—an ardent supporter of the Church and a moralist—has been exposed as a common ne'er-do-well, who in his youth spent years in prison for fraud and theft. Furthermore, the article states that in a libel case, it was proven that May had never travelled outside Germany and that his travelogues were thus fake and plagiarized.¹³ In a report about May allegedly being ill-informed about the customs of Native Americans, the daily *Narodni dnevnik* describes him as »a disreputable writer of Catholic-themed stories and unnatural novels«.¹⁴ The liberal daily *Jutro* reproaches the conservative daily *Slovenec* with hypocrisy for having previously reported on May's criminal past and his works being forbidden in school libraries, but nevertheless recommending this writer of 'trashy' literature to their readers after his latest book was made available for purchase in a local Catholic bookshop.¹⁵ *Slovenski narod*, another influential liberal daily, reported on the details of May's criminal past;¹⁶ a few days later, *Slovenec* published an article on the libel suit brought by the writer against those claiming to have knowledge of his

10 May's works about the Old West were so influential that even in the 1960s, employees of the American State Department were reportedly encouraged to read May in order to better understand the German perception of the USA (Cracroft; qtd. in Ferens, 2008, 92; see also Feest, 2002, 25–26).

11 *Dom in svet*, 1907, 20, 1: Karl May, 527–528.

12 *Straža*, 4. 10. 1909: Karl May, 3.

13 *Edinost*, 15. 4. 1910: Karel [sic] May – razkrinkan kakor slepar, tat in ropar, 2; *Učiteljski tovariš*, 29. 4. 1910: Karel [sic] May – razkrinkan kakor slepar, tat in ropar, 6.

14 *Narodni dnevnik*, 12. 7. 1910: Indijanci proti Mayu, 4. All quotations not originally in English were translated by the author of the article. *Jutro*, 21. 7. 1910: Kupčija je kupčija, 2.

16 *Slovenski narod*, 9. 8. 1910: Razkrinkan mladinski pisatelj Karel [sic] May, 1.

wrongdoings,¹⁷ while the following month, *Slovenski narod* reported on a countersuit against May and one of the witnesses (accused of perjury) in the previous libel case. In the latter article, May is referred to as a »propagator of Catholic ideas«.¹⁸

Much of this negative information about May's life is included in an article published in *Jutro*, which adds that, for various reasons, May's works were a bad influence on youth but were nevertheless recommended by Catholic educators, as well as that May falsely claimed to have a Ph.D.¹⁹ *Narodni dnevnik* reported that May had been in court for perjury and that his falsified doctoral diploma had been confiscated.²⁰ In the literary magazine *Ljubljanski zvon*, Joža Glonar published a lengthy and extremely damning article on May. Glonar begins by relating the writer's criminal activities, which May allegedly pursued until he wrote a few stories for a Catholic serial publication and realized that by writing Catholic-themed moral stories, he could make more money than by committing petty crimes—despite not having had a Catholic christening himself. The author of the article continues by stating that May wrote first person accounts of lands he never visited, declared that he translated from languages he barely knew by name and falsely claimed to have been awarded an honorary doctorate. Glonar concludes by asserting that such a person should not have as great an influence on the youth as is unfortunately the case, and therefore discourages Slovenian translation of May's works (Glonar, 1910, 319–320).

After May's death, the daily *Dan* published a rather negative obituary, which includes a detailed description of May's life of crime. The article further states that, after May was released from prison, he wrote first person accounts of countries he never visited and heroic feats he never accomplished, as well as that he falsely claimed to have a doctoral degree; nevertheless, his works were extremely successful and were recommended for young people, especially by Catholic serial publications. Despite claiming that reading May could be harmful to young people because it could make them lose their taste for *belles-lettres* and could potentially inspire them to imitate what they read, the anonymous author of the obituary concludes that May's works do have some positive qualities and will therefore probably continue to be read.²¹ May's troubled past is illuminated once again in *Slovenski*

narod, which reports that in his posthumously published memoirs, May wrote about his felonies, but that his widow edited many parts referring to his court cases.²²

Until the end of World War II

In the years immediately following the end of the Great War and the dissolution of the Habsburg Empire, May was not as present in Slovenian serial publications as had been the case in the years preceding his death. A rare exception is an article in the intellectual magazine *Čas*, in which Janez Filipič mentions May among literature written for the sole purpose of making money and thus not suitable to be read by young people (Filipič, 1919, 236). In the late 1920s, May again begins to be discussed more frequently; for instance, an anonymous author in the magazine *Mentor* offers the following assessment of his *œuvre*:

*Few writers are as prolific as May was. [...] His writing is not artistic, but his stories are pleasant to read. His language flows smoothly and his style is refined. Let him be read by young people, as he has been up to now—he will stir up their imagination, and perhaps he will even offer them something more.*²³

Slovenski narod reports on a delegation of Native Americans visiting May's grave to pay their respects; their chief reportedly stated that May had done considerable good for Native Americans and devoted his whole life to them.²⁴ *Slovenec* also states that May wrote many positive things about the 'Indians' and reports that a Native American chief and his wife recently visited May's grave.²⁵ When announcing a translation of one of May's works, the leftist magazine *Svoboda* claims that other novels would have been more deserving of translation. The article further states that May never visited the lands nor accomplished the deeds he claimed, but nevertheless remains popular with young readers, since there seems to be something appealing about his imagination.²⁶

In parallel with the publication of many translations of May's works in the 1930s, there is a surge of articles about him. In *Jutro*, Anton Debeljak's translation of *Old Surehand* is described as better

17 *Slovenec*, 11. 8. 1910: Karl May, 4.

18 *Slovenski narod*, 1. 9. 1910: Zopet Karel [sic] May, 4.

19 *Jutro*, 24. 10. 1910: Karl May in Lebins [sic], 2.

20 *Narodni dnevnik*, 5. 12. 1910: „Doktorska diploma« Karla Maya, 4.

21 *Dan*, 3. 4. 1912: Karl May, 2.

22 *Slovenski narod*, 22. 7. 1912: Spomini pokojnega Karla Maya, 5.

23 *Mentor*, 1927, 14, 7–8: Karl May, 178–179.

24 *Slovenski narod*, 21. 1. 1928: Indijanci na grobu Karla Maya, 6.

25 *Slovenec*, 21. 6. 1929: Indijanci na grobu Karla Maya, 6.

26 *Svoboda*, 1929, 1, 4–5: Karl May: Križem po Jutrovem, 130.

than the original because it omits the long-winded, preachy passages.²⁷ This sentiment is echoed in an anonymous review published in *Slovenski narod*, *Jugoslovan*, *Mariborski večernik* »Jutra« and *Nova doba*; the translator of this novel, which is described as colourful and exciting, is praised for having shortened the philosophical deliberations.²⁸ When giving an account of May's life in the weekly publication *Tedenske slike*, an anonymous author mentions the felonies May committed in his youth, but expresses no value judgement about his moral character.²⁹ In the Catholic magazine *Društvenik*, May's stories are described as lacking in artistic value, but the anonymous author of the article asserts that they are exciting, interesting and even educational, because through them, readers get to know foreign nations.³⁰ In the literary and cultural magazine *Odmevi*, popular writer Josip Vandot states that May's stories do have some ethical value (Vandot, 1933, 68). *Slovenski narod* reports on a polemic about the suitability of May as reading for young people, which appeared in the German newspaper *Kölnische Zeitung*, and which concluded with May being branded a Marxist and a pacifist; May's lack of objection to inter-racial marriage was reportedly also singled out as problematic.³¹ In the magazine *Življenje in svet*, Anton Kappus relates how he once heard his German teacher state that May was a shame to the German nation and a bad influence on young people, because his works made them want to seek out adventures instead of studying; the author of the article concurs with this opinion (Kappus, 1935, 159). The right-wing daily *Slovenski dom* refers to May's criminal past, which came to light towards the end of his life and allegedly affected him so much that shortly afterwards he died.³² In *Jutro*, Boris Rihteršič responds to a previously published article in *Slovenec* by Tine Debeljak, whom he reproaches for championing Catholic writers, including May.³³ An anonymous article published in the Catholic weekly *Mi mladi borci* proclaims May as one of the best popular writers, an educator and an expert in the Christian conception of the world; examples from May's works are provided to substantiate the latter claim. The article also quotes a passage in which May expresses a negative opinion about Islam.³⁴

Only a few notable articles on May were published during the time that the Slovenian territory was occupied by the Axis powers from 1941 to 1945. To commemorate the 100th anniversary of his birth, *Jutro* published a lengthy article on May, who is described as a popular and widely-read writer, despite his works' lack of artistic or moral value. The anonymous author of the article speculates that May's writing, which is full of naive fantasy and describes lands and nations the author never encountered, was well-suited for an era with no world-shattering events—it allowed the petit bourgeoisie to read about exciting events instead of actually experiencing them. The author of the article predicts that in the present and future young people might not be as drawn to May's works because they would be living in more dramatic times.³⁵ An anonymous author in *Slovenec* published a revisionist article, claiming that although many people think of May as having composed his stories sitting at his desk, recently uncovered evidence showed that in his youth he had visited the lands he wrote about. The article asserts that May spoke English fluently, that since his youth he had owned the famous guns featured so prominently in his novels, and that when he visited the United States later in life with his wife, he encountered many people he knew from his previous travels there. The article further claims that May spoke Arabic excellently, that his servant Halef from the novels set in the 'Orient' was a real person, and that May's detailed knowledge of the lands he wrote about and all the mementos he brought back from his travels are further proof that his travelogues were not merely a product of his imagination.³⁶ Despite the Slovenian territory being occupied by Germany at the time, not all mentions of May are as positive as the previous one—in *Dom in svet*, Ksaver Meško (1944, 41) states that he never much cared for May's writing, firstly because his stories did not seem believable, and secondly because May seemed not merely pious, but a bigot.

The Socialist period

Soon after a socialist regime was established in Slovenia, May's works were branded as problematic. For instance, *Ljudska pravica* laments the lack

27 *Jutro*, 30. 11. 1930: Tri nova knjižna darila za našo mladino, 4.

28 *Slovenski narod*, 28. 11. 1930: Karel [sic] May: Old Surehand, 3; *Jugoslovan*, 30. 11. 1930: Karel [sic] May: Old Surehand, 10; *Mariborski večernik* »Jutra«, 4. 12. 1930: Karel [sic] May: Old Surehand, 2; *Nova doba*, 5. 12. 1930: Karel [sic] May: Old Surehand, 4.

29 *Tedenske slike*, 3. 3. 1932: 90 letnica [sic] rojstva Karla Maya, 2.

30 *Društvenik*, 1933, 3, 6; Nove knjige, 47–48.

31 *Slovenski narod*, 31. 12. 1934: Karel [sic] May marxist, 10.

32 *Slovenski narod*, 18. 2. 1936: V imenu dobrodelnosti, 4.

33 *Jutro*, 13. 1. 1936: O slovenskih prevodih v lanskem letu, 2.

34 *Mi mladi borci*, 1939, 3, 41: Karl May, 164.

35 *Jutro*, 14. 2. 1942: Stoletnica Karla Maya, 5.

36 *Slovenec*, 21. 11. 1943: Karel [sic] May naj bi bil svoja potovanja doživiljal le za pisalnikom?, 5.

of quality books for young people, whose preferred reading reportedly remains May and similar adventure fiction deemed tasteless and of little value.³⁷ *Slovenski poročevalec* reports that the Centralna knjižnica library in Ljubljana has removed literature that, from an educational standpoint, allegedly had a negative effect on the young—including all of May's works.³⁸ In *Novi svet*, Bogo Pregelj states that, considering the lack of suitable children's and young adult literature, it is no wonder that some libraries do not want to remove May from their shelves, since otherwise they would not have enough books to offer to their younger readers (Pregelj, 1948, 787).

A few years after the first post-War translations of May's works were published, an author with the initials 'S. Z.' in *Zasavski tednik* advocates limiting young people's reading of May, since some of his stories supposedly exert a bad influence.³⁹ In an article published in *Ljudska pravica* and later also in *Ptujski tednik*, an author with the initials 'V. Š.' claims that reading May's works has both positive and negative effects on children: they gain knowledge of foreign continents and nations, but their imagination may take an unhealthy direction, because they read about killing, foolhardiness, etc.⁴⁰ An anonymous author in *Tribuna* had the following to say about the quality of May's writing:

*One may safely say that May's works are tasteless, unnatural trash from a moral and emotional standpoint; nevertheless, every youngster—I too was among the most ardent admirers—has to read them, if he is not a bore as far as his imagination and emotions are concerned. But later, when his taste and emotions become more refined, May's works become really boring.*⁴¹

In the concluding paragraph of an article recounting May's life story, an anonymous author in *Tovariš* claims that during the last decades of the 19th century, May's stories were popular not only because of the well-rounded characters and exciting plots, but also because at that point in time the German nation demanded colonies, and May reminded them that there were vast lands out there just waiting to be conquered.⁴² In *Knjižnica*, a review of a book by Franček Bohanec about children's literature states that May's works have no artistic value, which may cause chil-

dren to lose the taste for more sophisticated literature (A. R., 1959, 93).

To commemorate the 50th anniversary of May's death, the Catholic newspaper *Novi list*, published by the Slovenian minority in the Italian city of Trieste (Trst), devoted almost a whole page to him. The article begins by claiming that prior to World War II, many primary school students considered May the greatest writer in the world. The anonymous author of the article declares that May's works have a strong ethical foundation, since they teach young people to be brave and upright and show them that noble people can be found among all ethnicities. Furthermore, his books are deemed to be educational, since they introduce readers to foreign lands, cultures and religions. Because of all the above, May's works were again being published in Slovenian and widely read in Germany and many other countries. The author of the article claims that—despite many 'serious' writers and literary historians disregarding him—some of May's best works can be considered classics of juvenile literature.⁴³

An author with the initial 'K.' in *Tednik* claims that reading May's books has a negative effect on children, because it may inspire them to play dangerous games. He or she concludes by giving the following negative assessment of the writer's body of work—quoted *in extenso*:

*May's books are exciting, adventurous, and are very much liked by our youngsters, who yearn for adventures and heroism. To such readers we recommend that while reading they think for themselves and recognize the books' shortcomings. Karl May's stories are fictitious and far from real life. They are all more or less the same: the protagonist (more often than not Karl May, i.e., a German) goes scot-free through every possible and impossible danger, because he is the most clever and cunning person, has the fastest and most intelligent horse and the best weapons, which he knows best how to wield. In short: there is an ever-present self-praising of German intelligence, cunning, heroism. Events tend to repeat themselves and too many various crimes are committed. Readers carefully reading these books and using their own reasoning will find all of these and other shortcomings.*⁴⁴

37 *Ljudska pravica*, 27. 10. 1946: V. Kaverin: Dva kapitana, 5; *Ljudska pravica*, 18. 8. 1947: Sindikalne knjižnice naj postanejo močno sredstvo za idejni in strokovni dvig delovnega ljudstva, 3.

38 *Slovenski poročevalec*, 14. 8. 1947: V ponedeljek je pričela spet poslovati preurejena Centralna knjižnica Ljubljana, 5.

39 *Zasavski tednik*, 21. 1. 1956: Knjiga uči in vzgaja, 5.

40 *Ljudska pravica*, 29. 7. 1956: Zdravo branje – koristna šola, 7; *Ptujski tednik*, 15. 7. 1960: Dobro čtivo – koristna šola, 4.

41 *Tribuna*, 1956, 4, 9: Dve mladinski knjigi, 6.

42 *Tovariš*, 1959, 15, 3: Winnetou se je rodil v zaporu, 90–91.

43 *Novi list*, 14. 6. 1962: Karl May – prijatelj mladine, 6.

44 *Tednik*, 31. 10. 1963: Ljnbitelji [sic] knjig Karla Maya, 4.

The right-wing *Novi list* gives a rather different assessment of May's work:

It is known that immediately after World War II, Karl May was being removed from libraries in Slovenia, but nowadays his books are being reprinted or translated anew. Educators have become convinced that his works represent harmless and even useful reading for young people, because they teach them to be noble-minded, as well as that it is necessary to help the weak and to be courageous. Furthermore, May's works develop young people's imagination and dissuade them from more dangerous 'amusements'.⁴⁵

In *Teorija in praksa*, prominent politician Mitja Ribičič⁴⁶ brands May's writing as »tearfully romantic and primitivistic« (Ribičič, 1965, 710). In *Delo*, Milan Šuštar claims that May's works do not merely entertain, but are educational, since they contain factual geographical and historical information; they therefore broaden young people's horizon and may be considered part of one's general education.⁴⁷ In *Primorski dnevnik*, Slavko Rupel states that while May's works may not have much artistic value, they are exciting, interesting and have a certain moral nucleus; thus, they affect young people in a more or less positive way, not merely entertain them.⁴⁸ Similarly, when announcing a series of new translations of May's works by the biggest Slovenian publishing house, Mladinska knjiga, an anonymous author in *Delo* states the following: »It cannot be denied that May's stories have a good educational core, since they glorify humanity, heroism and honesty«.⁴⁹ In *Ljubljanski dnevnik*, Dušan Željeznov notes that May has a special place in literary history; scholars barely acknowledge him, but millions read him. Željeznov states that he is so popular because his rich imagination in combination with knowledge of geographical and historical facts enabled him to write compelling stories, in which his protagonists always fight for a just cause.⁵⁰ In an article published in the same newspaper—and anonymously under a different title also in the literary magazine *Knjiga*⁵¹—Branko Man also expresses a positive opinion about May: his works supposedly help young people to develop a reading habit and enrich their imagination, while giving them a sense of what is right.⁵²

In the 1970s, only a few noteworthy articles discussing May were published; these focused on his works' alleged unsuitability for a socialist society. When discussing children's and young adult literature in *Otrok in knjiga*, Milan Divjak mentions that writer and educator Jan Baukart did not consider May's works to be suitable reading for young people, since the books are not in accordance with socialist ideology (Divjak, 1972, 16). In *Knjižnica*, Bruno Hartman reports that German researchers in Göttingen discussed the 'German bourgeois ideology' present in May's writing (Hartman, 1976, 162). In a highly ideologically charged research article published in the academic journal *Časopis za kritiko znanosti, domišljijo in novo antropologijo*, Bojan Pucelj uses several examples from May's works to criticize the writer's perceived Eurocentrism, nationalism and avarice, along with his religious views and the lack of recognition of the class struggle (Pucelj, 1976).

Opinions expressed about May in the decade before Slovenia declared independence from Yugoslavia were quite diverse and somewhat more positive. An anonymous author in the Catholic newspaper *Katoliški glas*, published by the Slovenian minority in the Italian city of Gorizia (Gorica), notes that religious elements were censored in the translations of May's works published under the socialist regime.⁵³ When discussing Gert Ueding's views of the German writer, Miran Hladnik states in *Slavistična revija* that May did not write about a self-affirming bourgeois society but about a world of freedom and adventure (Hladnik, 1981, 106). In an article with a rather different sentiment, published in *Mentor*, Jaro Dolar discusses the prominent role of religion in May's works and the censorship that these religious elements underwent in Slovenian translation (Dolar, 1981, 11–12). He further speculates that both young and adult Germans were drawn to May's works because the German first-person protagonist is initially perceived as weak but soon shows that he is superior to everyone else; Dolar even goes as far as to claim that May's works contributed to the emergence of fascism (Dolar, 1981, 13–14). Both issues were also brought up in a roundtable discussion later published in *Otrok in knjiga*. Ivan Minatti, who served as editor of some of May's works translated during the socialist period, noted that in the stories there is an abundance of sentimental Catholicism and glorification of the

45 *Novi list*, 22. 10. 1964: »Nevarni« Karl May, 6.

46 At the time that the article was published, Ribičič was a member of the Executive Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, and shortly after he became a member of the Executive Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia.

47 *Delo – Knjige za vas*, 1. 6. 1967: Pomenimo se!, 3.

48 *Primorski dnevnik*, 15. 7. 1967: Karl May za današnji čas, 2.

49 *Delo*, 21. 7. 1967: Pet knjig spisov Karla Maya, 23.

50 *Ljubljanski dnevnik*, 15. 8. 1968: Dobri stari Karl May, 8.

51 *Knjiga*, 1969, 17, 9: Karl May na knjižnem trgu, 395–396.

52 *Ljubljanski dnevnik*, 19. 10. 1969: Knjige, ki jih ne bero samo otroci. Od Karla Maya do – Tolstoja, 10.

53 *Katoliški glas*, 17. 7. 1980: Ideološka ozkost in prezir do božjega, 2.

German nation; translators were therefore advised either to tone down such passages or to omit them altogether. Minatti further stated that such adaptations did not diminish the quality of May's work (Minatti, 1984, 69). Majda Stanovnik concurred and added that without such interventions, the novels could not have been published at that point in time (Stanovnik, 1984, 70). In *Dialogi*, Janko Pleterški asserts that May had a respectful and non-racist attitude towards Native Americans (Pleterški, 1985, 111), while in *Celjski zbornik*, Anton Šepetavc observes that May's writing is repetitive and that his typical characters are one-dimensional, but that nevertheless there is something positive about his works:

In the spirit of pacifism and humanism, May takes the side of the Indians and other non-Aryans who are dying out (although he is at the same time glorifying the exceptional virtues of the Germans—he was very popular in the Third Reich). The educational function of his works is thus evident: to spread friendship, courage and understanding of the small and the weak (Šepetavc, 1988, 184).

In *Otrok in knjiga*, Metka Kordigel states that by reading May and similar adventure stories, young readers become acquainted with the characteristics and structure of works of fiction; they have to remember multiple characters and follow the plot, which later helps them to move on to more demanding literary works. Therefore, she is of the opinion that there is no harm in children reading May—if this is not the only literature they read (Kordigel, 1990, 15–16).

After Slovenia's independence

In the Catholic academic journal *Bogoslovni vestnik*, Marijan Smolik claims that Slovenians have always liked May's writing because it contains many educational and Christian passages, and speculates that this is why in the 1930s Catholic priest Anton Jehart translated *Winnetou*. Smolik further notes that when Jehart's translation was adapted in the 1950s by Oskar Hudales, it was 'cleansed' of everything Christian; therefore, the foundation of the positive characters' humanity was not clear (Smolik, 1995, 383).⁵⁴

In *Otrok in knjiga*, Polonca Kovač gives a rather critical assessment of May's literary output:

The most prominent writer of adventure stories was certainly Karl May. As trivial as his stories may be, literary history cannot ignore him, because for a good hundred years young readers were ent-

husiastic about his books. [...] He was a prolific writer, all of his stories are easy to read and buzzing with excitement. They are heart-stirring and contain a lot of humour. [...] When reading May's works, kindness, joyfulness and inquisitiveness are virtues that one acquires in passing. [...] There is nothing strange about him being one of the most popular writers among those in their early teens. But when re-reading these books from an adult perspective, one is astonished. How could one have been charmed by this shallow complacency, this lofty attitude towards others, the petty bickering? (Kovač, 2001, 65–66).

In *Laški bilten*, linguist Tomo Korošec (2010, 31) claims that in the decades after World War II, reading May was not explicitly forbidden by the authorities but was discouraged because his works glorified the German nation and often invoked the will of God. When reminiscing about the literature that shaped him in his youth in another article in the same publication, Korošec stated the following about May:

[H]e uses good language and it is indisputable that his descriptions of nature are impeccable—this I can assure you as a stylist, a language teacher. Completely impeccable, and you would be hard-pressed to find a living author who describes landscape with more clarity. He has profoundly influenced me (qtd. in Košak, 2014, 7).

In the last decade, a few notable articles on May were published in *Primorski dnevnik*. In a letter to the editors, Aldo Rupel asserted that in post-World War II Slovenia, reading May's novels set in the Old West substantially affected the way people perceived Native Americans.⁵⁵ To commemorate the 100th anniversary of the writer's death, the same daily newspaper published a full-page article by May enthusiast Bruno Križman, recounting the events in May's life, as well as discussing the background of some of his novels and his reputation in Germany and other countries, including Slovenia. The author of the article notes that May was a champion of Christianity, which is evident in the novels set in the 'Orient' and perhaps most prominently in May's *magnum opus*, the *Winnetou* series, where the pagan titular character eventually converts to Christianity. Križman also mentions that religious references were censored in the first Slovenian translation published under the socialist regime. Furthermore, he notes that anti-Semitism can be found in the novel *Satan und Ischariot*, that May was one of Hitler's favourite writers because he glorified the German nation and that, owing to May's nationalism and egocentrism, the

⁵⁴ Later the same year, Smolik discussed the censored passages in a series of articles published in the Catholic weekly *Družina* (issues 29 to 42).

⁵⁵ *Primorski dnevnik*, 5. 6. 2012: *Winnetoujeve generacije*, 18.

socialist regime in East Germany tried to suppress his works.⁵⁶ Both *Primorski dnevnik* and *Novi glas* reported on a later lecture by Križman, in which he discussed many of the topics mentioned in the previous article; in the latter report, it is noted that in his novels, May expressed positive attitudes towards Native Americans, i.e. championed their rights.⁵⁷

In *Delo*, renowned editor and translator Aleš Berger reminisces about reading the pre-War translations of May's works in his early teenage years. He states that they helped form his sense of exciting and colourful language, and that they were educational, both because they described foreign lands and nations and because of their ethical dimensions: during a time when American westerns were trying to justify white settlers' actions by portraying Native Americans as primitive scoundrels, in May's novels the latter were portrayed as noble. Berger relates an anecdote about prominent literary theorist Dušan Pirjevec being an avid reader of May,⁵⁸ and in the last part of the article briefly discusses the ideological interventions concerning Christian elements in the translations published during the socialist era.⁵⁹ Religion is also mentioned in an article published in *Novi tednik*: Božo Mulej describes May as a writer who addressed the fate of some nations, which—from a Christian standpoint—were being oppressed.⁶⁰

CONCLUSION

During Karl May's lifetime, both conservative and liberal Slovenian serial publications sporadically published articles about him but focused on his persona and the lawsuits he faced rather than his literary output. May as a public figure was more present in liberal publications, where negative opinions about him were often expressed, and Catholic publications were at times reproached for their support of May, despite his works being perceived as having little quality and his alleged lack of personal integrity. The fact that May was German seemed not to have been an issue, although during the time the articles about May were written, the Slovenian nation was struggling for more rights in a state where German-speaking Austrians were the dominant nation.

During the inter-war period, May was still regarded as an author of little artistic value, but articles about him were considerably less hostile than in the previous period; even facts about his felonies and false claims were for the most part related *sine ira et studio*. He was also less often used as a pawn in the ideological

struggle between right-wing and left-wing publications. A prominent exception is an article published when much of the Slovenian territory was occupied by Nazi Germany during World War II: with false claims, it attempted to sway readers' opinions about the authenticity of May's travel accounts and his personal integrity—a testament to the amount of manipulation present in the media during the occupation.

At the beginning of the socialist period, there were attempts to quell May's popularity, but after only a few years, there was a reversion to the *status quo ante*: reading May was again tolerated, although ideologically 'purified' translations began to be published with the intention to replace older ones. Although the adapted Slovenian versions of May's texts, i.e. those censoring German superiority, the importance of Christianity, and certain racist elements, seemed to have been acceptable and in certain respects even useful to socialist ideology, the quality of May's work was nevertheless quite frequently attacked in the press. While the socialist regime never fully embraced May, in Slovenian newspapers published in Italy, the attitude towards him was markedly more positive.

In the period after Slovenia declared independence, May is less present in serial publications; most of the noteworthy articles about him are marked by a certain nostalgia, and he is seldom attacked, which may be because he is no longer widely read by the young people, and thus the ideas in his works that could be perceived as problematic are less likely to be a bad influence on multiple young minds.

The analysis thus showed that the reception of May's works in Slovenia was indeed influenced by the socio-political situation during a particular period, and especially in the translations published during the socialist period, by additional ideological interventions in the texts—since elements of Christianity and German superiority were censored, these aspects of May's works were seldom singled out as problematic by Slovenian reviewers. Further analyses of the translations from that era could show whether reception was affected by censorship of other elements. For instance, while May undoubtedly had a sympathetic attitude towards Native Americans, in the original works there are passages describing them as inferior to Germans / Caucasians—if such sentiments were censored or somewhat toned down in the socialist period, they could not then have been pointed out as problematic by reviewers. Considering that Yugoslavia was part of the Non-aligned Movement alongside many of the nations that May wrote about, the same may be true with regard to the translation strategies for passages in which

56 *Primorski dnevnik*, 3. 6. 2012: Winnetou ... Kdo danes ve zanj?, 17.

57 *Primorski dnevnik*, 28. 5. 2014: Bruno Križman o Karlu Mayu in o njegovih pustolovskih romanih, 8; *Novi glas*, 12. 6. 2014: Kako zabujati željo po potovanju, 10.

58 Polonca Kovač also mentions that Dušan Pirjevec reportedly had a positive attitude towards young people reading May (Kovač, 2001, 66).

59 *Delo*, 24. 3. 2015: Pisec, ki je obsedal dedka in vnuka, 15.

60 *Novi tednik*, 3. 8. 2017: Knjige, ki jih morate prebrati to poletje, 10.

May describes ethnicities from the 'Orient'. This article can thus serve as an incentive for further examinations of May's Slovenian translations from a post-colonial / post-socialist perspective.

APPENDIX

Bibliography of the Slovenian translations of Karl May's novels

The works are listed in the chronological order in which the Slovenian translations were first published; all editions of a particular translation are listed. The year next to the title of the German original refers to the publication in Karl May's *Collected Works* by the publishing house Karl-May-Verlag after the author's death. For the novels that were first translated before May's death, the year of the first publication in book form is listed. Some of the novels that form a series (*Waldröschchen* oder *Die Rächerjagd rund um die Erde*; *Der Orientzyklus*; *Satan und Ischariot*; *Im Lande des Mahdi*) were first published under a single title, while later individual novels were published; this is reflected in the bibliography.

Der Waldläufer (1879)

- 1) 1898: *Gozdovnik: povest iz ameriškega življenja*. Translated by Hrizogon Majar. Ljubljana, A. Turk.
- 1918: *Gozdovnik: povest iz ameriškega življenja*. Translated by Hrizogon Majar. Ljubljana, A. Turk.
- 1921: *Gozdovnik: povest iz ameriškega življenja*. Translated by Hrizogon Majar. Ljubljana, A. Turk.
- 2) 1968: *Stezosledec: zgodba z divjega zahoda po romanu Gabriela Ferryja*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Waldröschchen oder Die Rächerjagd rund um die Erde (1882–1884)

- 1) 1901: *Beračeve skrivnosti ali Pregarjanje okoli sveta: velik roman, poln razkritja skrivnostij človeške družbe*. Translated by N.N. Vienna, J. Rubinstein.
- 2) **Schloss Rodriganda [Waldröschchen I] (1924)**
1968: *Grad Rodriganda*. Translated by Mimi Malenšek. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
- Die Pyramide des Sonnengottes [Waldröschchen II] (1924)**
1968: *Piramida boga sonca*. Translated by Tanja Premk. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
- Benito Juarez [Waldröschchen III] (1924)**
1968: *Benito Juarez*. Translated by Rozi Kukar. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
- Trapper Geierschnabel [Waldröschchen IV] (1925)**
1968: *Lovec Jastrebi kljun*. Translated by Branimir Kozinc. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
- Der sterbende Kaiser [Waldröschchen V] (1925)**
1968: *Smrt cesarja Maksimilijana*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Die Rache des Ehri (1894)

1901: *Eri*. Translated by Janko Pretnar. Ljubljana, J. Giontini.

Der Orientzyklus (1892)

- 1) 1910: *V padišahovej senci: potni roman*. Translated by Bert P. Lakner. New York, Slovenic Publishing Co.
- 2) 1928–1930: *Križem po Jutrovem: potopisi in povesti s slikami*. Translated by N.N. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 1995: *Križem po Jutrovem*. Translated by N.N. Ljubljana, Littera.
- 3) **Durchs wilde Kurdistan (1913)**
 1. 1930: *Po divjem Kurdistanu*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
 2. 1970: *Po divjem Kurdistanu*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Von Bagdad nach Stambul (1913)

1. 1930–1931: *Iz Bagdâda v Stambûl*. Translated by N.N. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 1995: *Iz Bagdâda v Stambul*. Translated by N.N. Ljubljana, Littera.
2. 1971: *Iz Bagdada v Istanbul*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

In den Schluchten des Balkan (1913)

1. 1931–1932: *V gorah Balkana*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 1995: *V gorah Balkana*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Ljubljana, Littera.
2. 1971: *V gorah Balkana*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Durch das Land der Skipetaren (1913)

1. 1932: *Po deželi Škipetarjev*. Translated by N.N. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 1996: *Po deželi Škipetarjev*. Translated by N.N. Ljubljana, Littera.
2. 1971: *Po deželi Škipetarjev*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Der Schut (1913)

1. 1932: *Žuti*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
2. 1971: *Žuti*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Durch die Wüste [1913]

1. 1970: *Po puščavi*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Unter Geiern [Der Sohn des Bärenjägers] (1914)

- 1) 1924: *Sin medvedjega lovca: potopisni roman*. Translated by Silvester Košutnik. Ljubljana, A. Turk.
- 2018: *Sin medvedjega lovca*. Translated by Silvester Košutnik. Ljubljana, Genija.
- 2) 1968: *Med jastrebi: zgodbe z divjega zahoda*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Old Surehand (1913)

- 1) 1930: *Old Surehand: potopisna povest*. Translated by Anton Debeljak. Ljubljana, Tiskovna zadruga.
- 2) 1965–1966: *Old Surehand*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1967–1968: *Old Surehand*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
- 3) 1983: *Old Surehand*. Translated by Mimi Malenšek. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Winnetou (1913)

- 1) 1931: *Winnetou*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
1952–1953: *Winnetou*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Adapted by: Oskar Hudales. Maribor, Obzorja.
- 2) 1962: *Vinetou: gentleman rdečega rodu*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1967: *Vinetou: gentleman rdečega rodu*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1968: *Vinetou: gentleman rdečega rodu*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1975: *Vinetou: gentleman rdečega rodu*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1978: *Vinetou: gentleman rdečega rodu*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1982: *Vinetou: gentleman rdečega rodu*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
- 3) 1983: *Vinetou*. Translated by Jože Dolenc. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Satan und Ischariot (1913)

- 1) 1932–1933: *Satan in Iškarjot*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 2) 1955: *Lov za milijoni (Satan in Iškarjot)*. Translated by Oskar Hudales. Maribor, Obzorja.
- 3) **Die Felsenburg [Satan und Ischariot I] (1913)**
1972: *Grad na pečini*. Translated by Jože Stabej. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Krüger-bei [Satan und Ischariot II] (1913)

1972: *Krüger-bei*. Translated by Jože Stabej. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Satan und Ischariot [Satan und Ischariot III] (1913)

1972: *Satan in Iškarjot*. Translated by Jože Stabej. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Im Lande des Mahdi (1913)

- 1) 1934: *Sužnji*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 2) 1954: *Sužnji*. Translated by N.N. Maribor: Obzorja.
- 3) **Menschenjäger [Im Lande des Mahdi I] (1913)**
1971: *Lovci na sužnje*. Translated by Jože Stabej. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Der Mahdi [Im Lande des Mahdi II] (1913)

1971: *Mahdi*. Translated by Jože Stabej. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Im Sudan [Im Lande des Mahdi III] (1913)

1971: *V Sudanu*. Translated by Jože Stabej. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Unidentified original

1935: *Bela reka*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.

In den Cordilleren (1913)

- 1) 1935: *V Cordillerah*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 2) 1967: *V Kordiljerah: popotne zgodbe*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1968: *V Kordiljerah: popotne zgodbe*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
- 3) 1983: *V Kordiljerah*. Translated by Meta Sever. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Der Schatz im Silbersee (1913)

- 1) 1935: *Zaklad v Srebrnem jezeru*. Translated by N.N. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 2) 1964: *Zaklad v Srebrnem jezeru*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1967: *Zaklad v Srebrnem jezeru*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1968: *Zaklad v Srebrnem jezeru*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
- 3) 1983: *Zaklad v Srebrnem jezeru*. Translated by Justi Cesar. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Im Tal des Todes (1934)

- 1) 1936: *Dolina smrti*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 2) 1970: *V dolini smrti*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1972: *V dolini smrti*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Zobeljäger und Kosak (1934)

- 1) 1936–1937: *Soboljar in kozak*. Translated by Anton Jehart. Maribor, Tiskarna sv. Cirila.
- 2) 1970: *Soboljar in kozak*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1972: *Soboljar in kozak*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Winnetous Erben (1913)

1963: *Vinetoujevi dediči*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1967: *Vinetoujevi dediči*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
1968: *Vinetoujevi dediči*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Am Rio de la Plata (1913)

- 1) 1967: *Na Rio de La Plati: popotne zgodbe*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

- 1968: *Na Rio de La Plati: popotne zgodbe*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
 2) 1983: *Ob Rio de La Plati*. Translated by Meta Sever. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Der Ölprinz (1915)

- 1967: *Petrolejski kralj*. Translated by Jože Koželj. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
 1968: *Petrolejski kralj*. Translated by Jože Koželj. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Das Vermächtnis des Inka (1913)

- 1968: *Inkova oporoka: zgodba iz Južne Amerike*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Die Sklavenkarawane: Erzählung aus dem Sudan (1915)

- 1968: *Karavana sužnjev: povest iz starega Sudana*. Translated by Ludvik Mrzel. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Der schwarze Mustang [Halbblut] (1917)

- 1968: *Mešanec*. Translated by Lojze Maruško. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Der Waldschwarze (1921)

- 1969: *Črni mož iz gozda*. Translated by Tanja Premk. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
 1972: *Črni mož iz gozda*. Translated by Tanja Premk. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Das Buschgespenst (1935)

- 1969: *Gozdni strah*. Translated by Vital Klabus. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
 1972: *Gozdni strah*. Translated by Vital Klabus. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Kapitän Kaiman (1913)

- 1969: *Kapitan Kajman*. Translated by Jože Stabej. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
 1972: *Kapitan Kajman*. Translated by Jože Stabej. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Auf fremden Pfaden (1913)

- 1969: *Na tujih stezah*. Translated by Mimi Malenšek. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
 1972: *Na tujih stezah*. Translated by Mimi Malenšek. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Der Fremde aus Indien (1939)

- 1969: *Tujec iz Indije*. Translated by Frane Jerman. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.
 1972: *Tujec iz Indije*. Translated by Frane Jerman. Ljubljana, Mladinska knjiga.

Der Derwisch (1933)

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IDEOLOŠKI VPLIVI NA RECEPCIJO KARLA MAYA V SLOVENIJI

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POVZETEK

Analiza zapisov o Karlu Mayu v približno 2.000 številkah slovenskih periodičnih publikacij iz različnih obdobj je pokazala številne skupne značilnosti, pa tudi nekatere razlike pri recepciji tega priljubljenega nemškega pisatelja. O Mayu se je začelo podrobneje poročati proti koncu njegovega življenja, vendar v središču zanimanja ni bilo njegovo literarno ustvarjanje, temveč njegova osebnost in sodne bitke. O njem so občutno bolj pogosto pisale liberalne publikacije, v katerih zasledimo tudi več negativnih zapisov; med drugim katoliškim publikacijam očitajo, da Maya priporočajo svojim bralcem, četudi gre za avtorja vprašljive kakovosti in s pomanjkljivo osebno integriteto. Čeprav si je slovenski narod v obdobju, ko so bili zadevni zapisi objavljeni, prizadeval za več pravic v državi, kjer so bili hegemoni nemško govoreči Avstrijci, pa Mayevo poreklo ni bilo izpostavljeno kot problematično.

Tudi v obdobju med obema vojnama Mayu ne pripisujejo velike umetniške vrednosti, vendar so zapisi o njem manj negativno nastrojeni kot v predhodnem obdobju; celo poročanje o njegovih mladostniških kaznivih dejanjih in lažnih trditvah večinoma ni tendenčno. May je tudi manj pogosto uporabljen kot sredstvo v ideološkem boju med desno in levo usmerjenimi publikacijami. Izjema je zapis iz časa, ko je bil med drugo svetovno vojno precejšen del slovenskega ozemlja pod nemško okupacijo, in ki priča o obsegu tedanje manipulacije v medijih: članek bralce in bralke namreč poskuša prepričati, da je May dejansko prepotoval kraje in izvršil junaška dejanja, ki jih je opisal kot prvoosebni pripovedovalec.

Na začetku socialističnega obdobja je iz nekaterih člankov v periodičnih publikacijah razvidno, da si je oblast prizadevala zmanjšati Mayevo priljubljenost med mladino, vendar je že v 50. letih 20. stoletja branje ideološko 'prečiščenih' prevodov zopet postalo sprejemljivo. Čeprav je iz nekaterih zapisov razvidno, da naj bi bilo branje Mayevih del celo poučno oz. vzgojno, so napadi nanj še vedno razmeroma pogosti; med drugim so mu očitali pomanjkanje kakovosti, poveličevanje nemškega naroda in krščanstva ter splošno neskladje s socialistično ideologijo. Medtem ko socialistični režim Maya nikdar ni povsem sprejel, pa so mu bili v istem obdobju veliko bolj naklonjeni zapisi v časopisih zamejskih Slovencev v Italiji.

V obdobju po slovenski osamosvojitvi je May v periodičnih publikacijah prisoten precej manj kot v preteklosti; pri večini omembe vrednih člankov gre za nostalgичne zapise, napadi nanj pa so redki. To je verjetno posledica dejstva, da ni več tako priljubljen, zato obstaja tudi manjša verjetnost, da bi sporne ideje v njegovih delih lahko imele občutno negativen vpliv na mladino.

Ključne besede: Karl May, recepcija, ideologija, nemška književnost, trivialna književnost

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TRIESTE AS LITERARY SPACE: THE CITY AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN WORKS BY ANNA HILARIA VON ECKHEL (ZWISCHEN WELLEN UND STEINEN), MARICA NADLIŠEK (NA OBALI), AND SCIPIO SLATAPER (IL MIO CARSO)

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ABSTRACT

Throughout history many Germanophone authors have lived in Trieste. One was Hilaria von Eckhel (1873–1948). Her collection of short prose Zwischen Wellen und Steinen, the works Il mio Carso by Italian Triestine author Scipio Slataper (1888–1915), and Na obali by Slovene Triestine author Marica Nadlišek (1867–1940) portray Trieste and its surroundings from three different perspectives. The article is a comparative analysis of the literary representations of Trieste and the region. The analysis uses the method of geocriticism to focus mainly on the categories of space and identity in literature.

Keywords: Anna Hilaria von Eckhel, Marica Nadlišek, Scipio Slataper, Trieste, prose, geocriticism, space, identity, multiculturalism

TRIESTE COME LUOGO LETTERARIO: LA CITTA' E IL SUO ENTROTERRA NELLE OPERE DI ANNA HILARIA VON ECKHEL (ZWISCHEN WELLEN UND STEINEN), MARICA NADLIŠEK (NA OBALI) E SCIPIO SLATAPER (IL MIO CARSO)

SINTESI

Nell'ambito della storia di Trieste numerosi autori hanno creato le proprie opere d'arte in lingua tedesca. Una di questi è Anna Hilaria von Eckhel (1873–1915). La sua raccolta di novelle Zwischen Wellen und Steinen, assieme al romanzo Il mio Carso di Scipio Slataper e la raccolta di novelle Na obali della scrittrice slovena Marica Nadlišek (1867–1940), tratteggiano l'immagine della città di Trieste da tre diverse prospettive. L'articolo si prefigge di analizzare questi contributi letterari su Trieste e le zone limitrofe. L'analisi si focalizza prevalentemente, con l'ausilio del metodo della geocritica, sulla categoria del luogo e dell'identità nella letteratura.

Parole chiave: Anna Hilaria von Eckhel, Marica Nadlišek, Scipio Slataper, Trieste, prosa, geocritica, luogo, identità, multiculturalità

INTRODUCTION

Trieste is a border city, located at the crossroads of Romanic, Slavic, and Germanic cultures. It was one of the oldest parts of the Habsburg monarchy and, as its main port, the most important point for maritime exchanges with the Orient. Commercial and industrial development in the second half of the 19th and first two decades of the 20th century led to significant population growth. With immigrants, coming from all over the world, Trieste became a multicultural city.

The city's multinationality and plurilinguality are evidenced by the coexistence of cultural associations, theatres, schools, journals, and newspapers in several languages. Trieste, has thus also been home to authors who wrote literary works in different languages. So far, the city's literary production has been the subject of several studies, which have partly taken into account its multicultural background. The major part of such studies, dedicated to literature from Trieste, focuses on texts written in Italian and the Triestine dialect. They are followed by studies about Slovene literature from Trieste, and comparative studies that tackle Italian and Slovene literary production. Although German was never a dominant literary language in Trieste, during the 19th century and first decades of the 20th century there also existed Germanophone literature, which has for the most part gone overlooked or ignored and is therefore not a part of literary history. The reasons for this situation are various. The majority of authors who wrote in German have been considered epigones; others wrote works that are not strictly literary and, for most of them, it is characteristic that they spent only a short period in Trieste. At this point, Silvana de Lugnani must be mentioned, along with her work *La cultura tedesca a Trieste dalla fine del 1700 al tramonto dell'impero asburgico* (1986), which is a review of German cultural life in Trieste from the end of the 18th century until the end of WWI. The author also dedicated some attention to Germanophone authors from Trieste. The second part of her book is a sort of anthology, since it includes short texts written by the represented authors. In his dissertation entitled *Die Deutschen in Triest 1880–1920* (2017), Reinhard Reimann wrote a short chapter about German literature in Trieste in which he lists fundamental biographical data about some authors and also dedicates some attention to some of their works, which show connections to the city.

Studies that take into account the existence of Triestine literary production in German usually mention Theodor Däubler, Julius Kugy, and Rainer Maria Rilke.

The literature survey, however, revealed a number of other authors who lived in Trieste and wrote in German. Although it is true that most of these authors spent only a limited period in Trieste, the city stamped its mark on quite a few of their literary works. This is evidenced either by concrete locations, which occur in the texts, or by thematising local history, politics, customs and other motives and ideas, connected to the region, such as for example the question of national identity and the multicultural character of the city. Works from authors like Rudolf Baumbach, Robert Hamerling (1857; 1859; 1889), Heinrich von Littrow (1849; 1857; 1863), Maria Egger-Schmitzhäusen (1912), Anna Hilaria von Eckhel (1904), Ricarda Huch (1902), Adolf von Tschabuschnigg (1842), Joseph Hötzl, Heinrich Wilhelm August Stieglitz, and Anna Jahn (1865) show an image of the Mediterranean city and its surroundings that in some aspects coincides, in others differs from the images of Trieste and its surroundings in Italian and Slovene literature.

Although the article only focuses on one selected literary work in German, one of its main goals is to divert attention to Germanophone literature from Trieste and will hopefully serve as an impetus for further studies. The comparative analysis of selected literary works will try to investigate these commonalities and differences, focusing on two main elements: space and (ethnic) identity. These elements were also the main criteria for the selection of literary works. The texts were first published between 1889 and 1920 and use Trieste and its surroundings as the main settings, and further thematising the city's multicultural character and the arising conflicts between different national groups. This article's aim is to draw attention to Germanophone literature from Trieste and to highlight some of its specifics in comparison to Italian and Slovene literature.

The study will make use of geocriticism, a method founded by Bertand Westphal (2011) that incorporates the study of geographic space in literature. Because of the specifics of Triestine literature, this method will be complemented in order to uncover and emphasize the multicultural character of the city and region, which is very often presented in literary writings.¹

TRIESTE AND LITERATURE

»Trieste is, maybe more than any other city, its literature,«² claim Angelo Ara and Claudio Magris (Ara & Magris, 1997, 15). Although Claudio Magris disputes the existence of so-called Triestine literature, claiming that the culture and literature of the city display a cer-

1 In Italian and Slovene Triestine literature, the multicultural character is embodied in the concepts of *triestinità* and *tržaškost*. The category of *triestinità* is understood as a search for one's cultural identity and most clearly manifests itself in Italian literature. The notion of *tržaškost* is more recent and denotes either the cultural identity of the Slovenes in Trieste or the multiculturality and multilinguality of Trieste in the beginning of the 20th century (Toroš, 2014, 39).

2 »Trieste, forse più di altre città, è letteratura, è la sua letteratura« (Ara & Magris, 1997, 15).

tain particularity, but that it is not possible to make of it something distinctively typical, many researchers have indeed identified possible characteristics of Triestine writing, which however mainly refer to such literature in Italian (and in the Triestine dialect). One of the links between (Italian) Triestine authors »is their common urge to deal with their native city's peculiar conditions, the unstable Triestine political status, multicultural atmosphere and international commerce's influences« (Chwaya, 2016, 179).

The city and its surroundings left traces in the writings of many Triestine authors, irrespective of their language, whether as a setting, a protagonist, or even as a motivating factor for writing. Bertrand Westphal claims that there are »some places seductive enough to have generated hundreds or thousands of artistic representations« (Westphal, 2011, 117) and Trieste is undoubtedly one of these places. Ana Toroš compared Slovene and Italian Triestine poetry from the first half of the 20th century, showing the commonalities and differences at the levels of motifs, themes, and ideas (Toroš, 2011). Oliver Schneider investigates the so-called 'Trieste-Myth' (Schneider, 2002). Although the author mainly focuses on Italian literary works, he reveals a great number of oft reoccurring tropes that could be characterized as 'Triestine'. Both works give evidence of the image of Trieste and its surroundings in Italian and Slovene Triestine literature in the 19th and 20th century.

The review of German literary works from Trieste showed that they partly involve the same locations and motifs and address the same themes and ideas, like for example the region's multinationality and multiculturalism. Because of different historical, political, and cultural contexts, however, they accessed and presented these elements from different aspects and filled them with different connotations. The position and the connection of Trieste with Central Europe were decisive for its identity and history, not just politically, but also culturally. The city's Italian community had been fostering the idea of Trieste merging with the Kingdom of Italy since the late 19th century and Italian poetry and literature in general played an integral role in reinforcing the idea of Trieste as a future Italian city (Toroš, 2016, 291). After World War I (WWI), Trieste lost the qualities that had made it so unique and Italian writers tried to regain them through literary representations (Campanile, 2004, 148). Italian poets and writers were now focused on creating a different image of Trieste, one of the idealised »Habsburg Trieste«, through which they infused their nostalgia for life in the city during the decades before WWI (Toroš, 2016, 291). One of the leading features of Italian Triestine literature is therefore the continuous need to question and investigate one's identity (Chwaya, 2016, 181). Writing served as a medium for solidifying one's national identity for Slovenes as well, but the difference

was in the method of representation: while the Italians depicted themselves as the spirited and energetic inheritors of Roman culture in Trieste, the Slovenes predominantly depicted themselves as the defenders of Trieste, their homeland (Toroš, 2016, 298). The position of Austrians and Germans in Trieste was different. The review of German-language literature from Trieste revealed that they thematised the city's multinationality and multiculturalism; however, they did so in a more neutral and unburdened way. Although some authors also praise the idea of pan-Germanism (e.g. R. Hamerling) and they believe that the city's future is in its connectedness with Austria (e.g. H. von Littrow), without being a national minority, they have no need to search and to fortify or consolidate their identity through literature.

Westphal points out that the 'influence' between reality (referent) and fiction (representation) is reciprocal, saying that insofar as fiction is written in the world, it takes on the double faculty of both reporting reality and, at the logical extreme, exerting influence over reality, or, more precisely, over the representation of reality. A referent and its representation are interdependent and interactive; the relation between them is dynamic, subject to constant evolution (Westphal, 2011, 113, 116). This exact thought is shared by Ara and Magris as well, stressing out that Triestine authors (Svevo, Saba and Slataper) are not born in the city and out of it, but they generate and create it and give it a face, which otherwise would not have existed (Ara & Magris, 1997, 16). The city on the Adriatic coast is often deemed as a 'landscape of paper' or a 'city of paper': a palimpsest of text and images, a complicated texture of geographic reality, history, literature, and personal experience (Chwaya, 2016, 182). The representations of the city and its surroundings differ from author to author and from text to text, but the fact is that, for many writers, it was impossible not to live their writing experience as a choice in terms of identity, linguistic options, and self-representation (Adamo, 2017, 7).

In *Il mio Carso*, a text that the author himself defined as a lyrical autobiography, Slataper contemplates the complex urban reality of Trieste and its hinterland, revealing the inability to accept its intrinsic contradictions (Slataper, 2015). After the first part, which is dedicated to Karst and inter alia deals with the question of (ethnic) identity, it gives a very detailed and lively portrait of Trieste as a metropolis (Coda, 2002, 154). The collection of short prose *Na obali* by Marica Nadlišek contains eighteen texts with more or less autobiographical traits and the majority of them take place in Trieste or its surroundings (Nadlišek, 2005). Nadlišek is the first Slovenian author who thematises the life and citizens of Trieste and nearby villages in her works. The city and its surroundings are the setting of the short stories collected in the work *Zwischen*

Wellen und Steinen by Anna Hilaria von Eckhel³ as well (von Eckhel, 1920). Another of the repeating themes is the city's multinationality.

All three authors were born⁴ and lived⁵ in Trieste and were thus »constrained to observe the same horizon« (Kim, 2012, 47). The discussed works derive from the same time and from the same space, but at the same time from different cultural, historical and political contexts. Scipio Slataper was half-Italian, his father was of Slavic origin, but a devout nationalist and irredentist, and he raised the young Scipio on romantic stories of Garibaldi and the *Risorgimento* (Schindler, 2001, 122). In 1915, when Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary, Scipio Slataper volunteered to join the Italian army and was sent to the front along the Soča River. He was killed in the Fourth Battle of the Isonzo on the hills surrounding Gorizia. Marica Nadlišek was daughter to a nationally conscious father; he was an active member of the Slovenian community in Trieste. Marica was active in Slovenian reading rooms as well and was one of the co-founders of the all-female local branch of *Družba sv. Cirila in Metoda* (Selišnik & Verginella, 2013, 105). She was the first editor of the Slovenian women's journal *Slovenka*. Anna Hilaria von Eckhel was daughter to a merchant who had already sparked her artistic interest in her childhood. She wrote poetry and prose works, in which she thematises the lives of women and the desolate landscape of her fatherland; some of her writings deal with questions of national identity.

The life of all three authors at least partly took place in the multiethnic, multinational, and multi-linguistic empire of Austria-Hungary. According to the Austrian census of 1910, 62.31 % of inhabitants spoke Italian, 29.81 % spoke Slovene, and 6.21 % spoke German (Reimann, 2017, 78). German was the language of state administration and bureaucracy in general, as well as of trade, and it was spoken widely among the Italian professional and business classes. German-language instruction was compulsory in all schools; because there was no university in Trieste, most Triestines went to Vienna or Graz for their higher education (Simon, 2012, 60). This was also the case of Italian Triestine authors, who were bilingual by nature. They were the first (in Italy) to assimilate northern influences and read authors, such as Hebbel, Weininger, Strindberg, Ibsen, and others (Campanile, 2004, 154). By virtue of their knowledge of German language and German-language authors, they widened the boundaries of Italian culture (Simon, 2012, 61). On the other hand, however, the different ethnical groups in the city

evidently lived in mutual and distrustful ignorance: the Italians would ignore the Slovenes who chose not Italianize themselves by moving from the condition of rural worker to bourgeois, and the Slovenes did not enter Italian cultural environments. Germans, who were not assimilated to the Italians, had many more occasions to be in contact with them for social reasons; nonetheless, they constituted a circumscribed and closed cultural corpus, whose consequences were isolation and exclusive reference to an external cultural context. The individual ethnic groups lived in 'parallel cultures' (Adamo, 2017, 5; Ara & Magris, 1997, 16, 27) or even parallel worlds.⁶

GEOCRITICISM AND BEYOND

If the 19th century was the epoch dominated by a historical outlook, from the 1960s onwards, individual spaces ceased to be treated as a mere backdrop or a setting in literary studies. Authors like Michel Foucault, Mikhail Bakhtin, Jurij Lotman, Homi K. Bhabha, Gilles Deleuze, Félix Guattari, Henri Lefebvre increasingly focused their attention on the relation between space, place, culture, and literature. Space as a concept became particularly relevant with the evolvement of the spatial turn, which significantly changed the understanding of space in cultural studies in general and literary studies in particular (Löffler, 2017, 23). One of the methods of literary analysis that incorporates the study of geographic space is geocriticism, which finds its natural applications in studying the artistic representations of geographical referents. The basis for geocritical analysis is the spatial referent, not the author and their work (Westphal, 2011, 113, 119). The geocritical approach is based on three theoretical concepts: spatio-temporality, transgressivity, and referentiality. Spatio-temporality refers to the need to consider time and space together, which means that a spatial analysis cannot disregard or avoid the temporal aspect. The concept of transgressivity denotes the constant back-and-forth movement of the real and fictional spaces that we inhabit or cross through. This leads us to the referentiality, which operates between fiction/literature and the real world. Our understanding of a particular place is determined not only by our experience of it, but also by reading about others' experiences and by our point of view (Sárdi, 2015, 19).

The geocritical literary analysis relies on four principles: multifocalization, polysensoriality, strategic perspective, and intertextuality. Westphal

3 After the marriage in 1906 Anna Hilaria Preuß, but she always used her maiden name as an author.

4 Marica Nadlišek (1867–1940), Anna Hilaria von Eckhel (1873–1948), Scipio Slataper (1888–1915).

5 Nadlišek moved to Ljubljana after WWI, von Eckhel moved to Germany in 1906, and Slataper moved to Florence and later to Germany, but he returned to Italy in 1915.

6 A very significant case is the renowned German author Ricarda Huch, who lived in Trieste between 1898 and 1900. She lived there in complete isolation (Reimann, 2017, 362).

opts for a plural point of view; with the multifocalization of views on a given referential space, we come closer to the essential identity of the referenced space (Westphal, 2011, 114). The analysis should encompass as many texts as possible, written from different perspectives, and furthermore, must engage all five senses in order to examine the auditory, visual, olfactory, gustatory, and tactile dimensions of space. The stratigraphic perspective denotes the idea that the description of a given place or space consists of an accumulation of its past moments, wherefore the analysis should study individual places at different moments in history. The principle of intertextuality refers to the preconception that lies behind one's perception of a place. This preconception assembles everything we have ever heard, seen, read about a given place, and besides our memories, it also includes imagination (Sárdi, 2015, 19–21).

Our analysis will try to follow the cited principles, although it will capture only three literary works, which additionally all originate from the same period. The fact that their authors derived from different cultural backgrounds, however, should provide different perspectives and thus meet the criterion of multifocalization. Westphal claims that instead of limiting ourselves to a canon at the heart of literature as a field, we should also take into consideration literature that occupies the borders, examining the interface between literature and the fringes (Westphal, 2011, 114). If *Il mio Carso* is considered almost as the prototype text of the modern Triestine literature (Pizzi, 2005, 241), the other two works belong to the margins and are not a part of the Slovene and German literary canon. Marica Nadlišek and her literature experienced a sort of revival in the recent past Anna Hilaria von Eckhel, however, is a completely forgotten author today.

Furthermore, the selected literary works will be analysed in a broader context in accordance with the concepts of intertextuality and stratigraphic perspective, taking into account other reference works that deal with representations of Trieste and its surroundings in literature. Because our perception of the environment involves all five senses, providing valuable information (Westphal, 2011, 136), our research will not only focus on images, but will perceive the city and its surroundings with all five senses. The most obvious elements that connect a text with a real place are of course the topographical aspects, such as buildings, streets, or landscape features that also exist outside the text, so that the real-world source is unequivocally re-

cognisable. The second category comprises elements that are still connected to space, but are not actual locations (e.g. climate, vegetation ...); because of their 'spatiality', we will characterize them as 'semi-topographical'. The third category will include elements that are 'not located in space', but nevertheless denote it (e.g. politics, history, customs). We can name these elements cultural or non-topographical. All of the above elements, however, are not (only) visible, we do not perceive them only with our eyes, but can also hear, smell, taste, or touch them.

LITERARY REPRESENTATIONS OF TRIESTE AND ITS SURROUNDINGS

The referentiality of a literary text can be established in various ways; often, the title itself already signals the real-world place in which it has been constructed. This is also the case of Slataper's *Il mio Carso*⁷. The notion 'Karst', however, is fairly broad and vague; it is not possible to determine the actual location(s) from the title alone. The titles of the other two books, *Zwischen Wellen und Steinen*⁸ and *Na obali*,⁹ are not as precise as Slataper's, but still refer to the littoral zone. This is also the case of the title of the short story *Die Wunder der Tiefsee*¹⁰ (von Eckhel). With the exception of *St. Canzian*,¹¹ which refers to an actual place, other titles show no reference to Trieste and/or its surroundings. A particular case is the title *Die Contessa*,¹² which shows a cultural reference to the region. According to our division of referential elements, the titles can be sorted as follows:

TOPOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS	SEMI-TOPOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS	NON-TOPOGRAPHICAL ELEMENTS
Il mio Carso	Zwischen Wellen und Steinen	Die Contessa
St. Canzian	Die Wunder der Tiefsee	
	Na obali	

Elements from all three categories can also be found in the individual texts by all three authors.

Topographical elements

Trieste and its surroundings occur in the texts in a variety of motifs. Visual dimensions are predomina-

7 My Karst; one of the provisory titles of the book was »Il mio carso e la mia città« (My Karst and My City) (Senardi, 2013, 136).

8 Between Waves and Stones.

9 On the Coast; this is also the title of one of the short stories in the collection.

10 The Wonders of Deep Sea.

11 San Canzian d'Isonzo/Škocjan ob Soči; today Italy.

12 It. for 'countess'.



Figure 1: Trieste (Wikimedia Commons).

ting in the descriptions of the city itself, namely that Trieste is beautiful, picturesque, and full of pulsing life:

Die Stadt mit ihrem Dächergewirr, ihren Kuppeln und Türmen, [...] selbst in dem grauen Dunste des Schirokkotages schimmerte und leuchtete sie und hatte etwas festlich Schönes (von Eckhel, 1920, 127, 142).

So nah – steinwurfnah dem pulsenden Leben der Hafenstadt, das rastlos nach Bereicherung, Vergrößerung und Fortschritt drängte [...] (von Eckhel, 1920, 5).

The city's hectic pace enraptures Slataper's narrator as well:

Anche la città è divertente, sebbene qualche volta m'abbia seccato. Mi piace il moto, lo strepito, l'affaccendamento, il lavoro. Nessuno perde tempo, perchè tutti devono arrivare presto in qualche posto, e hanno una preoccupazione. Nei visi e negli stessi passi voi potete e riconoscere subito in che modo il passante sta preparando l'affare (Slataper, 2015, 81).

But the metropolis also has a darker side, which on one hand is connected with the parts of the city, inhabited by the lower classes:

Oh, grozne ulice! Sape ti zmanjuje in tesno ti je pri srcu, ako se ozreš kvišku, kjer se dvigujejo na obeh straneh visoke, okajene stene starih hiš z neštevilnimi okni, za katerimi žive ljudje, žive morda zadovoljno, ker ne poznajo drugega življenja (Nadlišek, 2005, 164).

On the other hand, it refers to the political issues and arising conflicts between different nationalities living in the city:

Schau, wie schön unser Triest ist, heiter wie alle italienischen Städte, und wir sind Fremdlinge, Geduldet auf diesem Boden, der schon den alten Römern gehörte! Unser Volk hat Triest gebaut, hat es wachsen lassen, dann erst kamen die Fremdlinge mit ihrer starren Art [...] (von Eckhel, 1920, 158).

The narrator in *Il mio Carso* feels alone, but at the same time always observed and under pressure, which is caused by an indistinct and menacing crowd

of idlers, whose only relevant physical trait is their eyes that function almost like hidden cameras, spying on the individual's every movement, thus depriving them of any privacy (Coda, 2002, 163):

Ma anche così non si è liberi camminando in città. Ogni vostro passo in città è controllato da spie che fanno finta di non vedere. I portinai dai portoni aperti adocchiano, di sotto, chi entra; I caffèoli passano lunghe ore mirando le gambe della gente; la signora tiene stretta la borsetta badando a destra e a sinistra se alcuno le si avvicini. Nessuno si fida di nessuno, benchè tutti salutano tutti (Slataper, 2015, 74).

Trieste is a white city,¹³ a city full of restlessness and colours,¹⁴ illuminated by countless lights,¹⁵ but it is also a place of many sounds,¹⁶ like for example that of the bells ringing on the tram horses¹⁷ and noise, as well as odours – sweet and acrid:

[I]ch blieb dicht am Steg stehen, und wie die Träger an mir vorbeikamen, kitzelte der Duft der Melonen verlockend meine hungrige Nase (von Eckhel, 1920, 148).

Ora sei in mezzo a una puzza di petrolio bruciato; poi, quando questa zona finisce comincia la ventata calda da grasso dalla cucina d'un albergo (Slataper, 2015, 140).

Among the specific, individual locations, that occur repeatedly in the selected texts, we must mention the Old Town, which was a »ghetto« of the poor and the ostracized in the literature of the 19th and early 20th centuries (Schneider, 2002, 44).¹⁸ Korzo/Corso, the main street in Trieste, is a sort of a border between the poor and rich part of the city, but also the most popular location for walking around and, as such, is a place for people watching (Schneider, 2002, 50). The Corso is chaotic, full of people and cars,¹⁹ and particularly loud during Carnival:

[...] po Korzu, Akvedotu in drugih glavnih ulicah kriče s tenkim glasom maske, fine in okusne, pa še več razcapanih in ostudnih, vsaka polna dovtipov, dobrih, pa tudi neslanih ter podlih (Nadlišek, 2005, 217).

Another location is the Port of Trieste, the engine of the city's economic prosperity after the declaration of the Free Port. Italian literature around 1900 connects this collective symbol on one hand with the stereotype of the spirit of enterprise, and on the other hand with a place where the lyrical 'I' feels alone among the crowd (Schneider, 2002, 106, 107). The image in the selected texts is very similar, the place is full of vivacity and noise:

Življenje v luki je postajalo vedno živahnejše. Vozovi so drdrali, črni mornarji vpili drug na drugega, parobrodi so žvižgali, ropotala težka bruna in železni drogi, katere so nakladali na ladje (Nadlišek, 2005, 248).

Un bastimento greco imbarca grosse travi; due pescatori issano la grande vela scura, sgoccio-lante; un gelataio grida la sua merce; uno con gli occhiali neri nota su un libruccio il numero sacchi cemento; un servo di piazza si fa avanti con il carretto rosso; s'accosta, spumando, il vapore di Grado[.] (Slataper, 2015, 144).

The port had been of a great importance for the city throughout history, but Trieste had to pay a high price, because they had to dig it out and mangled the entire hill for it:²⁰

Mesi e mesi di furibondi squarciamenti che ritornavano l'orizzonte e s'abbattevano come il terremoto sulle nostre case piene di finestre. E piccolo vaporini, un po' superbi del loro pennacchio di fumo, facevan rigar dritte lunghe file di maone tutta pancia, – e dalla strada napoleonica si vedeva sfolgorar nel mare i carichi di pietra scintillante (Slataper, 2015, 82).

The port with ships and cargo from all over the world and with the tantalizing scents of southern fruits and other plants was also a promise of wonderful faraway lands on the other side of the sea, and at the same time, a connection with the world in the hills outside the city:

E levan l'ancora i grossi piroscafi nostril verso Salonicco e Bombay. E domani le locomotive ritorneranno il ponte di ferro sulla Moldava e

13 »città bianca« (Slataper, 2015, 64).

14 »Sulle rive Trieste si sveglia piena di moto e colori« (Slataper, 2015, 200).

15 »mesto, razsvetljeno z brezštevilnimi lučmi« (Nadlišek, 2005, 164).

16 »L'aria è piena di strepito« (Slataper, 2015, 144).

17 »zvok drobnih zvončkov tramvajskih konj« (Nadlišek, 2005, 8); »Schellen der Tramwaypferde« (von Eckhel, 1920, 3).

18 A demonstrative example of this kind of representation of the Old Town is *Aus der Triumphgasse*, a novel written by Ricarda Huch (1901). The Old Town is the main setting of the novel.

19 »Ero in Corso, fra gente impellicciata e automobili« (Slataper, 2015, 109).

20 »Per il nuovo porto minammo e frantumammo una montagna intera« (Slataper, 2015, 82).

si caceranno con l'Elba dentro la Germania. [...] Noi vogliamo bene a Trieste per l'anima in tormento che ci ha data. Essa ci strappa dai nostril piccolo dolori, e ci fa suoi, e ci fa fratelli di tutte le patrie combattute. Essa ci ha tirato su per la lotta e il dovere. E se da queste piante d'Africa e Asia che le sue merci seminano fra i magazzini, se dalla sua Borsa dove il telegrafo di Turchia e Portorico batte calmo la nuova base di ricchezza, se dal suo sforzo di vita, dalla sua anima crucciata e rotta s'afferma nel mondo una nuova volontà, Trieste è benedetta d'averci fatto vivere senza pace nè gloria (Slataper, 2015, 200, 202).

Coffee houses are a typical location in Triestine literary works; they derive their roots from the Habsburg era, when they were a part of the city's middle and upper class tradition. The coffee houses represent a sort of a poetic bond with the city's Habsburg history (Toroš, 2011, 54). Coffee houses occur as a setting in some texts by Nadlišek, but it is not clear to which specific establishments they refer. The narrator in *Il mio Carso* mentions *Caffè Specchi*²¹ and *Caffè Chiozza*.²²

Alongside Trieste itself, some surrounding villages and places occur in the texts, whether as a setting of the plot or with the purpose of emphasizing the contrast or even conflict between the city and the countryside. Trieste, as a city, traditionally had a 'higher' and 'worthier' status than its hinterland and surroundings (Schneider, 2002, 67). The Karst served as the diametric opposite of Trieste's urban modernity. In *Il mio Carso*, it is evoked as a psychological and affective landscape, but also as culturally backward as compared to the city (Pizzi, 2013, 148). It is often considered as a peripheral part of the city (Schneider, 2002, 73). The stony landscape is rough and unfriendly:

Il carso è un paese di calcari e di ginepri. Un grido terribile, impietrito. Macigni grigi di piovra e di licheni, scontorti, fenduti, aguzzi. Ginepri aridi.

Lunghe ore di calcare e ginepri. L'erba è setolosa. Bora. Sole.

La terra è senza pace, senza congiuntore. Non ha un campo per distendersi. Ogni suo tentativo è spaccato e inabissato.

Grotte fredde, scure. La goccia, portando con sé tutto il terriccio rubato, cade regolare, misteriosamente, da centomila anni, e ancora altri centomila (Slataper, 2015, 162).

The narrator, however, feels attracted to it and cannot get it out of his mind:

Ho ritrovato il mio carso in un periodo della mia vita in cui avevo bisogno d'andar lontano [...] Avevo bisogno di sassi e di sterilità. E mi ricordai del carso, e dentro ebbi un piccolo grido di gioia come chi ha trovato la patria (Slataper, 2015, 134, 136).

A small Karst village is the setting of Nadlišek's short story *Strte peruti*.²³ The protagonist, a young teacher, dislikes her new home:

Moja stolica je majhna vas, kakršne še nisi vide-la; majhne in črne so v nji hiše, pred njimi pa ni dehtečih vrtov, ampak le kupi gnoj, kjer brska domača kuretna. Na oknih okrog hiš vise cunje, katere so oprale domače žene v vaškem kalu. Njive so rdeča prekopana zemlja, polna belega kamenja (Nadlišek, 2005, 106).

The world between the waves (Trieste) and stones (Karst) is denoted as her homeland in the introduction or dedication (*Widmung*) of *Zwischen Wellen und Steinen*, but whereas it has a function of as a shelter in *Il mio carso*, von Eckhel feels trapped and wants to escape.

Zwischen Wellen und Steinen meine Wiege stand,

Zwischen Wellen und Steinen: mein Kindheits-land!

[...]

*Über des Karstes herbtrotzigen Höhenraum
Ging meiner Jugend werbender Sehnsuchts-
traum* (von Eckhel, 1920, 1).

On the halfway between Trieste and Karst lie some nearby villages; one of them is Sv. Ivan/San Giovanni, where Nadlišek lived, therefore, it is also the setting of some of her stories. The village is saturated with light and natural elements, and starkly contrasts with the dark, dirty houses and streets of Trieste's suburbs. The relation between the city and the countryside is exactly the opposite as mentioned before, with Trieste as the negative and Sv. Ivan as the positive pole. For the Triestines, the village served as a summer resort, because it was near to the town but still in the countryside,²⁴ and therefore became vivid and noisy:

Trst se nam je zdel, kakor bi bilo v njem vse izumrlo ali vse zbežalo k Sv. Ivanu to pod nami, odkoder se je slišal nerazločen šum in hrup tramvaja, kočij in vsakovrstne godbe (Nadlišek, 2005, 157).

21 »Di', sloveno! quanti narcisi produrrai tu questa primavera per le dame del Caffè Specchi?« (Slataper, 2015, 62).

22 »Dal caffè Chiozza marciavano contro noi in doppia, larga fila i gendarmi, baionetta inastata« (Slataper, 2015, 68).

23 Broken wings.

24 »Vabljev je Tržačanom edino in samo zato, ker je blizu mesta in vendar na deželi« (Nadlišek, 2005, 149).

It is a friendly and picturesque place:

Vozna ovalna pot oklepa kakor reka najlepši del tega kraja, prijazno dolino, na drugi strani te poti se vzdiguje svet v valovite griče, po katerih so bele male in večje hiše (Nadlišek, 2005, 234).

The village is also the setting of von Eckhel's short story *Die Contessa*; via San Cellino,²⁵ although it leads to the city, is lonesome and in the summer hot and silent.²⁶

Semi-topographical elements

The most repeated semi-topographical element in the texts is the sea, with a wide variety of connected motifs: ships, boats, sailors, fishermen, etc. Like the surrounding villages, the broad sea,²⁷ with its calmness and stillness, also poses a contrast to the lively and noisy city.

Morje je bilo lepo, mirno in mali valčki so šumeli komaj slišno med sabo in igraje pljuskali ob bregove (Nadlišek, 2005, 291).

Nadlišek often describes the picturesque sunsets; the seaside, however, is a place, where lovers meet and break up as well (Biber, 2005, 362). The sea is also a symbol of an endlessness and a sort of promise of a distant, different world. The sea is vivid, it foams and rustles, but it also talks, is salty and warm:

Allargo lo sguardo: e il mare s'increspa sotto il sole. La sua anima è quieta e serena, ed egli si stende sulla spiaggia soffice e si culla cantandosi piccolo parole; e cerca con dita di bimbo le conchigline e i granchetti fra la ghiaiola della riva. [...] E il mare mi porta lontano dove io non veda altro che mare e cielo, e tutto sia zitto e pace. Apro la bocca e fra i denti mi scorre l'acqua salsa, e il corpo si lascia calare lentamente nel mare (Slataper, 2015, 126).

The sea possesses a darker side as well:

Und vor Haus Meerschau rauschten die Wasser, die weiten Wasser, flimmernd im Sonnenlicht, funkelnd im Sternenglanz, dunkel und schaumwütig im Sturm, und deckten die Tiefen voll Abgründe und Wunder (von Eckhel, 1920, 197).

Morje se je močno zaganjalo ob breg, metalo valove po vsej cesti in močilo tudi Ribarja in njegovo družino (Nadlišek, 2005, 77).

Very often, the sea reflects the emotions of the narrator or protagonists or the mood of a scene; meanwhile, Slataper compares it to a woman and her lover:

Penetro con le dita spalancate nell'acqua del mare, come tra i capelli morbidi e resistenti d'una donna; e m'arrovescio sulla superficie a riposarmi. Le piccolo onde sbattono mormorando al mio orecchio, come il cuore della donna all'amante che riposa su di lei (Slataper, 2015, 127).

The element often connected with the sea is the weather, which mirrors the mood of the protagonists as well. Sunny weather, clouds, rain, and wind are very often in concord with the emotions of the narrator or protagonists. The most characteristic element in this context is the bora wind. On one hand, it is terrifying, but on the other, it is an inseparable part of Trieste and its surroundings, and therefore of the fatherland:

Brausen hörte sie, Stöhnen und Toben draußen und Rütteln an den Fensterscheiben, erschrocken dachte sie an die Rosengewinde um Haus und Kirchentür, die Bora wird alle zerreißen! Die Bora – sie wollte ihr zornig grollen, aber plötzlich siegte die alte Liebe in ihr zum Sturmwind, der in der stillen Heimat so oft ihr das Lied vom Leben gesungen. Auch Antonio Corner lauschte der Bora in dieser Nacht, erlauschte in Bangen; wie die Stimme des unbekannten Gottes klang sie in ihm, rätselhaft weltentief wie er (von Eckhel, 1920, 70).

The twofold image of the bora is efficiently represented in *Il mio Carso*:

La bora aguzza di schegge mi frusta e mi strappa le orecchie. Ho i capelli come gli aghi di ginepro, e gli occhi sanguinosi e la bocca arida si spalancano in una risata. Bella è la bora. È il tuo respire, fratello gigante. Dilati rabbioso il tuo fiato nello spazio e i tronchi si squarciano della terra e il mare, gonfiato dalle profondità, si rovescia mostruoso contro il cielo. Scricchia e turbine la città quando tu disgredi la tua rauca anima (Slataper, 2015, 58).

The Mediterranean climate in all three works is denoted by characteristic vegetation – particularly trees

²⁵ Today via San Cillino.

²⁶ »Einsamkeit, Hitze und Schweigen auf der Straße[.]« (von Eckhel, 1920, 5).

²⁷ »[...] dann dehnte das Meer sich weit, weit!« (von Eckhel, 1920, 127).



Figure 2: Giuseppe Verdi Square, Trieste (Wikimedia Commons).

and fruits, such as: cypresses, oak trees, pine trees, chestnut trees, yew trees, juniper, laurel, figs, peaches, plums, cherries, Karst flowers, olive trees, grapes:²⁸

Lepega jutra koncem poletja sva navsezgodaj vstali in šli s košarico po smokev in češpelj (Nadlišek, 2005, 9).

Blitzend brach sich der Mondschein in ihren kristallinen Rauten, über den Früchten, den Feigen und Pfirsichen lag er wie silberner Duft. [...] Im Garten bogen sich die Wipfel der Zypressen, bäumten sich die Lorbeerbüsche unter jagenden Wolken und Regengeprassel[.] (von Eckhel, 1920, 174, 180).

The Mediterranean trees, bushes, and flowers grow around the stone-houses. Very picturesque is Slataper's description of the grape harvest, which the narrator enjoys with all of his senses:

Bella è la vendemmia. Oltre I vignali vanno grida e risate; I cani sbalzano, accucciandosi sulle zampe davanti, da questo a quell gruppo di ven-

demmiatori, e i passeri frullano sbandati. [...] Le labra e il mento sono appiccicose di mele stillato, e le mani, la maglia, il manico della roncola, I pampani, le brente, I carri. Tutto è una gomma rossastra. E ci si lava pigiando a palme aperte gli scricchiolanti grappoli nella brente. Buona è l'uva, addentata a grani dal tralcio, mentre dagli occhi sgocciola il sudore e la palma della mano è stanca della roncola (Slataper, 2015, 26, 28).

Non-topographical elements

The non-topographical elements include themes, motifs, and ideas with a cultural connotation. We have already mentioned the Carnival, which is one of the elements referencing Triestine culture. Descriptions of the Carnival can be found in Slataper and Nadlišek (*Moja prijateljica, Pod streho*).

Kavarne in restavracije so prenapolnjene. Pri mizah sedi občinstvo in se zabava, gledaje maske, ki tekajo, zvončkljajo, skačejo, kriče, dražijo druga drugo, pa tudi goste. Klovni, ciganke, pieroti, mefisti in elegantni domini se mešajo

28 e.g. »[...] der Wacholder durchduftete es herb und stark« (von Eckhel, 1920, 105).

z maskami v fantastičnih opravah (Nadlišek, 2005, 217).

A realistic, objective description by Nadlišek differs from Slataper's negative image of the carnival.

Ho girato tutta la città in questa notte di martedì grasso, annoiato e disgustato senza causa. [...] Dal caffè dove bevvi petess la sera della calata, sbocca una comitiva di ominacci con barba, vestiti da donna; donne spanciate e altro negrume, urlando, saltando con fanaletti e bastoni (Slataper, 2015, 104, 106).

Other non-topographical or cultural elements that occur in the texts are the Holy Saturday, the erection of a maypole (Nadlišek, 2005, 157), and traditional clothes, like a big scarf,²⁹ characteristic of Triestine working women, or the simple clothes typical of countrywomen.

[A]uch der Anzug zeugte von einem langen Weg, er war verstaubt, aber sonst sauber und einfach: Rock und Bluse und Schürze, ein Tuch wie die Landmädchen es trugen, schützte den Kopf vor der Sonne.[.] (von Eckhel, 1920, 6).

If Nadlišek and von Eckhel use the descriptions of the protagonists' appearances to show their social status, Slataper's narrator is more involved, he feels himself to be different from other Triestines and therefore an outsider, but he swings between the distaste for and the desire to be a part of the community.

I giovanotti avevano larghi soprabiti a campana, con di dietro un taglio lungo, come le giubbe dei servitor, e bastoni grossi e lievi che volevano sembrare rami appena scorzati. Le signorine erano accompagnate dal babbo o dalla mamma, e avevano stivalini lustra come i dorsi delle blatte (Slataper, 2015, 72, 74).

The selected texts reflect the multicultural and multilingual character of the city. The protagonists belong to various nationalities and ethnic groups. The female protagonists in Nadlišek's texts are nationally conscious Slovenes who read Slovene authors (Prešeren, Stritar, Gregorčič), but also Italian and German classics (Petrarca, Goethe). The author describes unhappy marriages, among them also some between members of different national groups. The reason for this unhappiness was the seeming infidelity to one's nationality (Biber, 2005, 356). In the short story *Zwei Seelen* by Anna Hilaria von Eckhel, the protagonist,

who is half-Italian and half-Austrian, has a library, which, like him, is split or divided into two parts:

[P]lötzlich fiel ihm auf, wie stark die deutschen Bücher in Zahl und Auslese überwogen, [...] reichlich die Hälfte seines italienischen Besitzes bestand aus Flug- und Schmähchriften, aus Werken, die ihren Grundgedanken gegen Österreich richteten. Das war die Literatur, die seine Mutter hinter dem Rücken seines Vaters in sein Zimmer geschmuggelt und die ihren Ursprung in den Verbindungen des Onkels Giovanni hatte (von Eckhel, 1920, 140).

At the very beginning of the book, the narrator of *Il mio Carso*, also talks about his split soul, about the difficulty of giving readers in Italy some understanding of what it means to be born in Trieste. He tries to recall his more distant origins, thinking about his adventurous ancestors (Campanile, 2004, 153). One of the elements the author uses to represent this split is language. The narrator names himself 'Pennadoro' (Slataper, 2015, 56, 150), which is the Italian translation of the author's Slavic surname (*Slataper* – *Zlatoper*).

Language mixing and lexical borrowings are significant for all three selected books and they document the language and cultural situation in the territory (Deželjin, 2012, 434). Some of the 'loaned' words that evidence Trieste's multiculturalism are: *contessa*, *loggia*, *barcola* (von Eckhel), *signorina*, *bona*, *papan* (Nadlišek). Anna Hilaria von Eckhel uses language mixing to stress the protagonists' nationality. The use of the Italian words is always connected with strong feelings and emotions, like in the following exclamations: *mamma mia*, *figlio mio*, *Trieste irridenta* – *Trieste redenta*, *matto de tedesco*. The narrator in *Il mio Carso* shows his disapproval and opposition towards the presence of Austrians in the city using irony. In Nadlišek, the Italian spoken by Slovenes has a similar function.³⁰

CONCLUSION

Literary spaces are never just copies of existing, real-world spaces, but always representations of these spaces. The local context of Trieste and its surroundings reveals itself as a constant reference in literary writing, whether as the setting or as a source of a variety of motifs, themes, and ideas. The analysis of three literary texts originating from the same period and dealing with a shared, real-world location identifies the main locations and motifs, but also some themes and ideas that occur repeatedly.

29 »Zinka je vrgla od sebe veliko ruto, tradicionalno ogrinjalo tržaških delavk[.]« (Nadlišek, 2005, 195).

30 »Ko smo pri odhodu stopali za Vinkom in njegovo družbo, sem nehote slišala, kako je Vinko vprašal mlado damo: 'Come ti piaceva?' Na kar je ona odgovorila: 'Benissimo'« (Nadlišek, 2005, 19).

The most frequently depicted topographical elements are: the Old Town, the Corso/Korzo, and the port. The reference literature that deals with the images of Trieste and its surroundings in literature shows that these places were often used as a setting or a backdrop, although the manner in which they are depicted may differ. A significant example is the port, which Nadlišek and Slataper described as a vivid and noisy place. This image coincides with the image of the port in Italian Triestine literature from the first half of 20th century, which is focused on the colourful port crowds and the ships coming in (Schneider, 2002, 106; Toroš, 2011, 103). The Slovene and socialist-oriented Italian poets from the same period, however, also give attention to the manual labour of the workers (Toroš, 2011, 103). Another constant topographical element is the opposition between the city and the countryside, which, however, both switch from the positive to the negative aspect. Nearby villages and the more distant Karst, on one hand, are depicted as a sort of an idyll,³¹ but on the other hand as desolate.³² A similar dichotomy is characteristic for the narrator of *Il mio Carso*. Italian poetry from the first half of 20th century typically presents the lyric subject experiencing the countryside as a space meant for relaxation and good culinary treats, while it is evident from the Slovene texts that these regions were for the most part inhabited by Slovenes who felt preoccupied with the rise of Italian nationalism (Toroš, 2011, 104).

The most prevailing semi-topographical elements that link all three selected texts, but are also constant motifs in Triestine literature in general, are the sea and the regional bora wind. Both elements are practically omnipresent; however, they do not only fulfil the narrative framework, but also reflect the emotions and moods of the narrator or the protagonists. Among the non-topographical elements, we must single out the consciousness of the city's multiculturalism, which is depicted with the use of language mixing and lexical borrowings but also with direct thematization. The latter, however, differs from text to text and from author to author. Slataper's representation of the city's multiculturalism is very ambivalent. Already at the beginning, the narrator stresses the fact that he does not belong,³³ which is in fact the book's central theme. The protagonists in some of Nadlišek's stories are nationally conscious Slovenes who read Slovene literature and are active in Slovene cultural circles. The texts by Anna

Hilaria von Eckhel feature protagonists who belong to different nationalities; the character that most illustrates the multicultural situation in the city is Siegfried, the main protagonist of the story *Zwei Seelen*, who must choose on which side—Italian or Austrian—he will fight in WWI, because he is the son of an Italian mother and Austrian father. The narrator, however, tries to describe his story and faith from a neutral point of view without taking any side.

The Germanophone literary works from Trieste in general are characteristic in that the city and its surroundings were often a source or an impulse for their composition. Apart from the specific locations that occur in the texts—among them most frequently the Old Town and the port—, authors were fascinated by the Mediterranean climate and vegetation, and often thematized the opposition between the North and South. Trieste, as the South, is associated with nice and sunny weather, rich nature, plenty of fruit, good food and wine, and local habits and customs. A very frequent element is also the sea in all of its nuances: it fascinates them and is at the same dangerous and represents a connection with distant lands. One important theme deals with the region's national diversity. As they are not national minorities, the Austrians and Germans do not feel endangered and describe the situation in a more neutral way in comparison to Italian and Slovene writers and poets; however, they consider Trieste and the region as a part of Austria-Hungary and later Austria. A typical feature is the use of Italian and dialectal words and terms that illustrate the multilingual character of the city. Many works written by German-language authors from Trieste belong to so-called documentary literature and are imbued by autobiographism. One of the reasons for this is undoubtedly the already mentioned enthusiasm for the region and its places, which are so different from the North. In their documentary and autobiographic works, they write about the presence of Austrian and German culture in the city, but also about their solitude and isolation, which could also be characterized as one of the impulses for their reflective writings. Most of such works were not published in Trieste, so it is questionable whether they reached local readers at all. By reviewing and reflecting on this forgotten part of Triestine literature, we would undoubtedly discover new, different images of the Mediterranean city and its surroundings.

31 e. g. Nadlišek: *Moja prijateljica, Na obali*

32 e. g. Nadlišek: *Strte peruti*

33 »Sono nato in carso [...], [s]ono nato in Croazia [...], [s]ono nato nella pianura morava[.]« (Slataper, 2015, 8).

TRST KOT LITERARNI PROSTOR: MESTO IN NJEGOVO ZALEDJJE V DELIH ANNE HILARIE VON ECKHEL (ZWISCHEN WELLEN UND STEINEN), MARICE NADLIŠEK (NA OBALI) IN SCIPIA SLATAPERJA (IL MIO CARSO)

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POVZETEK

Tržaška literatura je pogosto predmet literarnovednih obravnav, vendar se študije običajno osredotočajo na literarna dela, napisana v italijanskem ali slovenskem jeziku, pogoste pa so tudi primerjalne analize med italijansko in slovensko tržaško literaturo. Zlasti v drugi polovici devetnajstega in prvih desetletjih dvajsetega stoletja pa so v Trstu živeli tudi številni avtorji, ki so ustvarjali v nemškem jeziku. Njihova dela se nemalokrat idejno-tematsko navezujejo na Trst in njegovo zaledje, bodisi z izbiro mesta in njegove okolice kot dogajalnega prostora bodisi s tematizacijo drugih motivov in idej, ki izhajajo iz tega prostora.

V primerjalni analizi literarnih del treh avtorjev, ki so v Trstu živeli in ustvarjali v približno istem obdobju, vendar so pisali v različnih jezikih, smo s pomočjo metode geokritike izpostavili posamezne lokacije, motive, teme in ideje, ki se pojavljajo v literarnih delih. Najpogostejši elementi, ki so prisotni v delih *Zwischen Wellen und Steinen* Anne Hilarie von Eckhel, *Na obali* Marice Nadlišek in *Il mio Carso* Scipia Slataperja, so: stari del mesta, pristanišče, okoliške vasi in Kras (topografski elementi), morje, burja in vegetacija (pol-topografski elementi) ter pust in multikulturni značaj mesta (ne-topografski elementi). Za vsa obravnavana literarna dela je značilno, da mesto in zaledje v njih ne nastopata le v obliki vizualnih podob, temveč sta zaznavana z vsemi čuti. Čeprav gre za ponavljajoče elemente, so ti nemalokrat različno konotirani. Takšna je na primer dihotomija mesto–zaledje. Vasi v okolici Trsta in tudi Kras so predstavljeni kot neke vrste kontrast mestu, le da včasih nastopajo kot pozitivni, drugič kot negativni pol.

Vsi trije avtorji so v svojih delih tematizirali tudi vprašanje (več)nacionalnosti ali multikulturni značaj mesta, bodisi neposredno bodisi z uporabo izposojenk in izrazov iz drugih jezikov. Anna Hilaria von Eckhel se v primerjavi z Marico Nadlišek in Scipiom Slataperjem omenjene tematike loteva z bolj nevtralnega, neobremenjenega stališča. To je v veliki meri značilno tudi za druge tržaške avtorje, ki so pisali v nemškem jeziku. Čeprav je bila večina del teh avtorjev doslej spregledana in ni bila predmet literarnovednih obravnav, je pregled njihovih literarnih del pokazal, da sta tako Trst in njegova okolica močno zaznamovala njihovo ustvarjanje. Z analizo tega pozabljenega dela tržaške literarne ustvarjalnosti bi gotovo spoznali novo, drugačno podobo Trsta in njegove okolice.

Ključne besede: Anna Hilaria von Eckhel, Marica Nadlišek, Scipio Slataper, Trst, proza, geokritika, prostor, identiteta, multikulturalnost

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RECONSTRUCTING CULTURE THROUGH LINGUISTICALLY CODED GENDER STEREOTYPES – THE CASE OF PETAR II PETROVIĆ NJEGOŠ PHRASEOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

The present paper explores phraseological manifestations of gender stereotypes in the language of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, with special views to reconstructing socio-cultural context shaping them. Drawing on the tradition of Slavic ethnolinguistics, and taking the idea of organic unity of language and culture as the starting point, we apply historico-ethnographic approach in analyzing the cultural content of phraseologisms, integrating linguistic and extralinguistic data in the process. The results obtained indicate that gendered differences concerning physical features and participation in public/private realms, as translated by linguistic means, reconstruct the social reality of the nineteenth-century Montenegro in a relatively reliable way.

Keywords: Petar II Petrović Njegoš, phraseology, sex roles, stereotypes, private/public binary

RICOSTRUIENDO LA CULTURA ATTRAVERSO STEREOTIPI DI GENERE LINGUISTICAMENTE CODIFICATI – IL CASO DELLA FRASEOLOGIA DI PETAR II PETROVIĆ NJEGOŠ

SINTESI

Il presente articolo ha per oggetto le manifestazioni fraseologiche degli stereotipi di genere nella lingua di Petar II Petrović Njegoš, con particolare riguardo alla ricostruzione del contesto socio-culturale in cui sono collocate. Basandosi sulla tradizione dell'etnolinguistica slava e partendo dall'idea dell'unità organica della lingua e cultura, nel presente lavoro viene applicato l'approccio storico-etnografico all'analisi del contenuto delle frasi idiomatiche, integrando i dati linguistici ed extralinguistici. I risultati ottenuti indicano che le differenze di genere inerenti le caratteristiche fisiologiche e la partecipazione alla sfera privata/pubblica della vita sociale, ricostruite in base ai dati linguistici, riflettono in maniera affidabile la realtà sociale del Montenegro dell'Ottocento.

Parole chiave: Petar II Petrović Njegoš, fraseologia, ruoli di genere, stereotipi, dicotomia privato/pubblico

INTRODUCTION

Language approach to stereotypes

The present paper seeks to explore phraseological manifestations of gender stereotypes in the language of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, with special views to the socio-cultural context shaping them. Language, as one of the universal semiotic systems, both materializes stereotypes as social representations, and acts as their source by reinforcing, or rather *»communicating stereotypes in such a way that they are likely to be reproduced perpetually in a society«* (Lyons et al., 2008, 61). Stereotypes arise in the process of socialization, and thus, inevitably, in a language-based communication as well. The fact that language, as the primary means of sharing beliefs, has a fundamental role to play in transmission and maintenance of stereotypes, was long recognized and explored within the field of social psychology (e.g. Lippman, 1991). The central question this study asks is how linguistic signs shape and reflect stereotypes, and to what extent is their semantic content related to extralinguistic, socio-cultural context. Taking the view that phraseology is a part of lexicon profoundly influenced by the cultural patterns, we aim to access the underlying structures of cultural knowledge coded in phraseological motivation. Given that interpretation of phrasemes in terms of their relation to culture features more prominently in phraseology since the turn of the 21st century, our research is carried in line with these tendencies. So far, Njegoš's phraseology has mostly been studied either from the structural point of view, or in terms of semantic reconstruction of those opaque units that provoke debate in scientific circles. At the same time, culture semantics of Njegoš's phrasicon has remained largely understudied. In that respect, the research focus of the present study shifts from the description of phraseologisms – their structure, properties and varieties (Pejanović, 2010) or (syntactic and) semantic analyses (Stevanović (1990), Marojević (2005) to exploring their potential to store and transmit the 'cultural memory' of a speech community. To that end we consider interrelation of phraseology and culture within a broader framework of interdisciplinary research, extending to different sources of knowledge and approaches of different culturally oriented academic disciplines. Moreover, having in mind the profound impact that gender has on the way individuals perceive and interact with the society at large, it is surprising that no previous research exists that specifically explores this dimension of either Njegoš's or Montenegrin folk phraseology. The results of the

present study will therefore provide some preliminary findings on cultural foundation extrapolated from gender specific phraseology in Njegoš's language and add to the growing field of inquiry into phraseology as a cultural phenomenon.

Stereotypes: Lippman's *»pictures in the head«* and the socio-cultural orientation

Historically, the first definition of a stereotype could be traced to the American journalist Walter Lippman, who saw it as a culturally derived mental construct: a *»picture in the head«* not based on experience, but derived culturally (Lippman, 1991). Given that experience is *»too big, too complex and too fleeting for direct acquaintance«*, due to human limitations in acquisition and cognitive processing of information, we need to reinterpret it *»on a simple model before we can manage with it«* (Lippman, 1991, 16). In other words, stereotypes arise from the need to simplify perception and interpretation of reality. In that vein, stereotypes could be considered to be relatively fixed fragments in cognitive structuring of external reality, operating within the constraints of a certain culture. Lippman's claims and understanding of stereotypes still seem to be valid, more so having in mind that *»he touched upon precursor of major orientations in the study of stereotypes«* (Kleng, 1993, 139) and in this regard, of socio-cultural orientation as well. According to Ashmore and Del Boca (1981), his contribution to the socio-cultural orientation was twofold. First, he suggested that stereotypes rationalize the existing societal arrangements, which was later developed through the *»conflict theory«*.¹ Second, he pointed to society as the source of many individual *»pictures in the head«* which is related to the structuralist-functional view, the other important perspective within the socio cultural orientation (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981, 3). In a structuralist-functional view that is adopted in this paper, stereotypes constitute a part of a cultural pattern institutionalized within a society. Individuals who are socialized into that culture internalize the pattern and model their conduct upon it: stereotypes are, therefore, cultural phenomena.

The properties of stereotypes that make them cultural phenomena, according to Lyons, are: prevalence in a large group of people,² relative stability over time and social learning as means of transmission (Lyons et al., 2008, 60). If we also add that stereotypes mainly perform value-expressive function both on individual and societal level, the following definition could be reconstructed: Stereotypes are culturally shared and socially learned beliefs that are characterized by nor-

1 Stereotypes justify the existing patterns of intergroup relations: eg. the notion that the poor are lazy and incompetent justifies differences in socio-economic status.

2 cf. Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) who make distinction between stereotypes (individual level) and cultural stereotypes (societal level).

mativity, stability, evaluative nature, and prevalence within large groups/communities.

As regards to stereotypes related to gender – socially and culturally constructed identity based on natural sex, they are mostly defined taking into account either personal traits of men and women (e.g. Ashmore & Del Boca, 1979), or the distribution of sexes in social roles (e.g. Eagly, 1987). As it was already stated, we approach gender stereotypes from the socio-cultural perspective, i.e. as related to social roles and the associated behaviors of men and women. In other words, we treat femaleness and maleness represented in phraseological verbalizations as cultural constructs.

PHRASEOLOGY: DEFINITION, CULTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Phraseology was established as an autonomous linguistic discipline at the beginning of the 20th century, yet to this day it is »bedeviled by proliferation of terms«³ and definitions (Cowie, 1998, 210). The multi-faceted nature of phraseology is to be accounted for the fact that providing a clear-cut definition and proposing unified terminology still remains an elusive endeavor. Phraseology, in the broadest sense, could be defined as »the study of the structure, meaning and use of word combinations« (Cowie, 1994, 3168), yet to delimit the field, it would be necessary to define what kind of multi word units make up the phraseological spectrum. In general, most phraseologists agree on the following defining criteria: polilexality, semantic and syntactic non-compositionality, frequency of co-occurrence.

Having defined the phraseological unit (further – PU) in terms of its semantic and syntactic structure, we proceed to discuss its cultural aspects. Phraseologisms are considered to be effective means of studying cultural phenomena for two reasons: for offering insight into extralinguistic codes of culture underlying them, and for reflecting the ways of metaphorical conceptualization of different domains of experience. In other words, phraseologisms encode cultural world vision of a community and serve as a »linguistic repository of a number of cultural traditions that are specific to a given language« (Colson, 2007, 201). Phraseologisms »mirror« national culture through myths, legends, rites, rituals, elements of collective and folk belief, stereotypes, cultural symbols, archetypes, etc. underlying their semantic structure.

In terms of studying stereotypes, phraseological units seem to be a fruitful point of focus for several reasons: 1) due to their axiological nature: much like stereotypes, phraseologisms are evaluative categories that reflect emotional-evaluative attitude; 2) they cast

light on both linguistic and extralinguistic factors in the processes of linguistic coding of stereotypes; 3) allow insight into culture-bound content of stereotypes.

AIMS AND METHODS

With a view to analyzing stereotypical sex roles as verbalized in Njegoš's phraseolexicon, we assigned the PUs denoting men and women to two groups: physiological features and social roles within the public/private sphere. As we set out to investigate (phraseological) language units in their organic unity with culture, we apply historico-ethnographic approach in analyzing the cultural content of PUs by integrating linguistic and extralinguistic data, relying also on the methodology of ethnolinguistics (method of linguistic reconstruction of culture) in the process.

Even though there is no study to date that has investigated gender-related stereotypes reflected in Njegoš's phraseicon, we rely on the prior extensive research in field, both in terms of determining the phraseological status of certain expressions, and with regard to their semantic reconstruction. In that respect, we draw on the findings of Stevanović (1990), Marojević (2005), and most notably on the seminal work of Pejanović (2010) that remains the most comprehensive study on the phraseology of the *The Mountain Wreath* to date, addressing the structural and the semantic aspects of the given units, their conceptual structure, as well as the strategies employed in translation of such fixed expressions to Russian language.

CORPUS

The corpus is composed of the gender-marked PUs retrieved from *Dictionnaire de la langue de Petar II Petrović Njegoš* (1983) that includes all his works written between 1833 and 1851. Reasons motivating the choice of corpus are twofold. First, from the linguistic point of view, Njegoš's language appears to be a rich source of both folk and authorial phraseology. Second, due to the active role Njegoš played in creating national culture: both his work, and Njegoš himself stand out as the pillars of Montenegrin cultural identity.

WOMAN: SOCIAL ROLES – THE PRIVATE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Analysis of the phrasemes within this group clearly reflects the ideology of patriarchy that a woman, her primary function being reproduction, is (biologically) destined for the roles of mother and wife. Within the group of PUs denoting woman in her social roles, only one is (vaguely) related to her appearing in the public sphere, the fact that, given this group is also the most

3 In this paper, the terms phraseologism and phraseological unit will be used interchangeably.

numerous, speaks for itself. Socio-cultural context is in this case well translated by phaseolexicon, which is also validated by the relevant ethnographic data.

The private sphere

Mother

The cult of motherhood, as a construct of patriarchy, »reflects a long-standing assumption that childcare is an essentially and exclusively female activity; a naturalized constant that has provided a vital underpinning of the cultural supremacy of the male« (Freeman, 2008, 114). Being further fostered and sacralized in religious context,⁴ motherhood becomes a woman's most defining role. Moreover, according to the psychologist Todor Baković (1985, 151), glorification of motherhood in Montenegrin cultural context could be seen as manifestation of the Oedipus complex:

An environment with a mother as sole tutor, often a war widow, generates ideal conditions for the development of a strong oedipal complex. In adult Montenegrin males, the oedipal complex was transformed into a symbiotic projection of love, respect, consideration and obedience toward mothers, rarely seen to such a degree in other cultures.

In the PUs retrieved from the corpus, mother epitomizes:

- **creation:** *rodila majka* (mother brought one into this world) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 235), *(takve) jošt majka rodila nije* (lit. mother didn't give birth to such person yet – such person doesn't exist) (Stevanović et al., 1983b, 490);
- **upbringing and heritage:** *zadojen majčinim mlijekom* (to suck something with one's mother's milk) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 446), *stidjeti se majčina mlijeka* (lit. to be ashamed of mother's milk – to be ashamed of one's origin); (Stevanović et al., 1983b, 346);
- **closeness/bond** with a child: *rodna/mila majka* (lit. mother who gave birth to one – one's own mother; dear mother) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 423, 530; 1983b, 366) *jedinac u majke* (mother's only son) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 312).

While the PUs in the previous group could be regarded as universal or at least widespread across a

number of languages, culture-bound expressions are those gathered around the image of a grieving mother and/or mother connoting identity:

kukala/žalosna mu majka (lit. woe to your/his mother – you are in a difficult position) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 209, 423; 1983b, 382); *ostala ti majka kukavica* (may your mother wail for you – may you die on your mother) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 391).

The image underlying both phrasemes could be traced to folk belief. Vuk Karadžić (1837, 47) wrote that it was the custom in Montenegro to carve the cuckoo birds on burial crosses - a cuckoo bird for each female relative who would grieve for the deceased:

»This custom drew from the folk tale that cuckoo bird used to be a girl who mourned her brother for so long, that God, growing weary of the lament, turned her into a cuckoo bird [...] hence the expression 'kuku mene' (woe to me).«

One's national and religious identity could also be associated with »the mother who brings one to this world«:

rodila Srpkica/Crnogorka/kaurka/vlahinja/bula (lit. Serbian/Montenegrin/Christian/Muslim woman brought to this world – one is a Serb/Montenegrin/Christian/Muslim) (Stevanović et al., 1983b, 335, 343, 490; 1983a, 91).

Multitude of expressions denoting motherhood clearly illustrates the socio-cultural reproductive expectations and points to childbearing as the core mission in life of a Montenegrin woman. Unlike mothers who were celebrated, childless wives were shunned and believed to be cursed, or even suspected of witchcraft:

This can become ugly, for women without children are almost automatically suspected of being witches. A Montenegrin witch [...] »eats the souls« of the children in her extended family. Her motive is jealousy, and her mode of locomotion is winged; she can assume the form of a moth or a bird and enter a house to kill her relative's children (Boehm, 1995 in Milich, 1995, xxix).

Needless to say, women were to be blamed for the couple's infertility. Montenegrin with »a barren wife« was not only allowed, but even encouraged to be a bigamist. The sterile wives had to return to their birth

⁴ In Slavic context, it could be traced to mythological representation of the soil Mat (Syra) Zemla (lit. Damp Mother Earth) and veneration of the goddess Mokosh, one of the oldest and most important Slav deities. With the adoption of Christianity, the cult of Slavic Mokosh becomes identified with, and then transformed into veneration of the Virgin Mary.

⁵ literal translation.



Figure 1: Černohorka s dítetem (Jaroslav Čermák, 1865) (Wikimedia Commons).

families: »if he (the husband) chased her away, he had to give her 60 thalers, but in most cases she would allow it (to be sent away)« (Bogišić, 1984, 44). Such was the pressure of the community that some women married off their husbands and continued living with them and their then wives as »sluge« (lit. servants), waiting on them and taking care of their children. These women were glorified, which in turn fostered cultural expectations.

Wife

The PUs within this group illustrate the implications of the honor code for a woman's role in marriage. Whereas expressions *vjerna/divna/mlada ljuba/ljubovca* (lit. a faithful/wonderful/young wife) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 416, 418, 534, 580); *nevjesta mnogostidna* (lit. a demure bride/young wife) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 448) denote virtues and traits construed as feminine and valued across different cultural contexts – beauty, youth, fidelity, shyness and modesty, they are also illustrative of the »honor culture« framework in which female fidelity and chastity appear as central to masculine public reputation and integrity. Cultural emphasis on male honor gives rise to the chastity-centered ideal of female virtue: »Honor norms require men to be hypersensitive to insults and threats to their reputation, and a key component of the masculine reputation is the good name of a man's female partner« (Vandello & Cohen, 2003, 999). Viewed from that perspective, preservation of »narok« (chastity and/or fidelity) is not simply a concern for a woman's reputation, but rather a matter of the collective honor of the family and the clan, and it's a man's duty to protect it:

Her adultery represents not only an infringement of his rights, but the demonstration of failure in his duty. He has betrayed the values of his family, bringing dishonor to all the social groups who are involved reciprocally in his honor: his family and his community (Pitt-Rivers, 1966, 46).

In consequence, the honor culture places value on male toughness and their ability to protect the family, while the »norms for females stress modesty, shame, and the avoidance of behaviors that might threaten the good name of the family« (Vandello & Cohen, 2003, 998).

Shyness: *nevjesta mnogostidna*

In the context of the 19th century Montenegro, shyness was both a culturally valued personality trait and the first »pedagogy« for girls. With the awareness of their sexuality, girls (were taught to) develop shyness

in the presence of the opposite sex: »The girls are much more shy than the boys; they would not look at you directly« (Jovičević, 1901, 86). Moreover, the concept of shyness appears as a salient organizing theme in some of the marriage traditions and customs: »as a bride, a young woman had to be totally *skromna* (modest) and *stidna* (bashful). At the wedding she could meet no one's eyes and as a young wife she could neither smoke, nor curse, with the choice words reserved for men« (Boehm, 1995 in Milich, 1995, xviii). Unsurprisingly, »shyness« has a role to play in marital intimacy and the customs related to consummation of marriage. Writing about marriage customs, Vuk Karadžić (1837, 36) states that »according to old traditions and proverbs, the newlyweds in Montenegro and Herzegovina did not sleep together for the whole first year of their married life; the bride slept with her mother-in-law, and the groom stayed with the cattle«. Such practice, according to Karadžić (1837, 38), also stems from »shyness«: »It still happens in Montenegro that a bride, being shy, can not bring herself to sleep with her husband for weeks«. In a similar vein, Mary Durham (1928, 208) writes: »To defer the consummation of marriage was considered honourable [...] the longer, the more honourable [...] sometimes deferred for a year or more. The explanation offered for this practice was that the bride was *stidna* (shy)«.

Fidelity: *vjerna ljuba*

Cultural expectations of shyness for a girl and a bride gave ground to admiration of loyalty and fidelity for a married woman. Montenegrin woman »as a girl [...] had the finest and the most fearful shyness [...] as a wife she developed the cult of marital fidelity« (Frile & Vlahović, 2001, 132). What gave rise to such »cult« was the strict moral code of honor culture on the one hand, and the legal sanctions against female infidelity on the other. The norms of honor that apply to female fidelity were, therefore, both the implicit social rules and normative expectations as discussed above, and the codified legal rules. In the 19th century Montenegro, both female and male infidelity was criminalized, yet there were stark gender-based differences when it comes to legal punishment. Whereas men could be sentenced to several months in prison for having a child born out of adultery, penalties for women included banishment, mutilation and capital punishment. The Article 72 of The General Law of the Land from 1855 (The code of Danilo I) states that if a married woman was found guilty of adultery, her husband had every right to administer the law himself: »Should it happen to any Montenegrin [...] that his wife is not faithful to him, and he apprehends her in the act of adultery, he is then allowed to kill them both (the wife and her partner): in case that she ran away, she has no place in (is to be banished from) our Land«

(in Nelević, 2011, 122). Furthermore, a husband as a victim of infidelity had the right to cut his wife's nose off. On December 29, 1852, Montenegrin Senate issued a ruling sentencing Krstinja Ostojić, who had been unfaithful to her husband Zeko Prelov Ivanišević, to banishment. Moreover, it was stated that *»should any of the Ivaniševićs apprehend her, they are free to cut her nose off«* (in: Nelević, 2011, 122). The expression *otkinuti nos (kome)*⁶ (lit. to cut one's nose off – to bring shame and disgrace upon yourself/your kin), motivated by such practice, is still widely used in Montenegro.

Daughter – »a snake was born«

Ethnographers and travelers through the 19th century Montenegro recorded that the birth of a daughter was seen as a misfortune, a bad omen for the family. A father who only had daughters was believed to be punished by God, and he was feared, for *»his curses were thought to have magical powers over those more fortunate«* (Milich, 1995, 26). The parents, when asked about their newborn, were *»apologetic«* if it was a daughter: *»In response to the question about the sex of his newborn, a father would say [...] 'Forgive me, we had a daughter'«* (Frile & Vlahović, 2001, 144); *»a snake was born to our house«* (Boehm, 1995 in Milich, 1995, xxiii) To this day, daughter is often referred to as *»tuda večera/sreća«* (lit. a stranger's supper/luck), implying that parents are investing into daughter's upbringing, only for her to be of use to her husband's family. Another verbalization of that stereotype found on the lexemic level – the word *»odiva«* is used to denote a married daughter of the family, while such distinction is not made for a son. The stereotype of a daughter's progeny being *»tanka krv«* (lit. thin blood), a distant kin, is also reflected in the PU *zatrijeti sjeme u odivu* (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 246) (lit. destroy the seed in the womb of a married daughter) that metaphorically implies complete obliteration of a certain family, to the extent that there is no one left, not even the distant relatives.

The public sphere: »Stopanica« – the invisible one

Aside from being indicative of the universal stereotype – masculinity associated with strength as opposed to femininity associated with weakness, the proverb *ljudi trpe, a žene nariču* (lit. men endure (pain), women wail) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 212) refers to *»naricanje«* – a mourning lament performed ritually at funerals. It was performed by the female members of the deceased's family and the 'professional' (female) mourners, and it was the only opportunity for a woman to appear as the agent, rather than just the observer

in public life. Tužbalice/naricaljke (wailing songs/laments) were, on the one hand, poetic articulations of insufferable pain of losing a family member and a way to cope with the loss, and, on the other hand, a woman's form of expressing herself as a member of community: a woman wailing *»had the right to judge events and men, thus gaining social position and the power to express herself [...] through the role of an educator, she admonished people to protect and fulfill familial, tribal and national ideals. In epic poetry, she is depicted as one who inspires warriors to continue their struggle for autonomy. Her words are as significant as those of men – perhaps more so«* (Vujačić, 1980, 150). Laments were, therefore, the female voice of the oral poetry, and the female voice heard in the public context.

With the exception of her role in funerary customs, woman was marginalized from public life. Her public persona was to remain invisible and mute both in the presence of her husband, and in political matters:

women don't come to the public meeting(s) (zbor) even if there isn't a man at their home, they rather send some male relative. It is true that if the meeting is on a saints feast day, and it's nearby, a few of them would gather and sit near the meeting place, yet they do not interfere into meeting, but discuss their woman's business (Bogišić, 1984, 270).

When in public, a woman had to *»exercise extreme caution as to neither undermine her husband in public, nor subvert his authority«* (Milich, 1995, 13). She was not allowed to walk with her husband, but always behind him, so she was often referred to as *»stopanica«* (lit. the one following (her husband's) footsteps).

Physical features

Physical appearance

With the exception of the idiom *bijela vila* (lit. white fairy – a beautiful person) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 78), female associated, yet applicable to both genders, all the PUs in this group have woman as a referent. Male appearance stereotypes are not verbalized, which is in turn indicative of the culturally universal tendency to construct femininity in terms of physical appearance.

Lexical collocations *bijelo čelo/ruke* (white hands; white/pale face) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 24), *crna kosa* (black hair) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 138) reveal some information concerning the stereotypical feminine beauty ideal in the 19th century Montenegro, as epitomized by fair complexion and dark hair.

6 For an in-depth analysis of the topic, see Pejanović, 2018.

Contrary to stereotypes, it was Montenegrin men, rather than women, that were praised for their physical appearance in the ethnographic writings from the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. They were often portrayed as being *»physically among the finest and largest people in Europe«* (National Geographic magazine, 1908, 783 in Čagorović & Carmichael, 2006, 59), and as Čagorović and Carmichael (2006, 60) rightly observe, *»at times the way in which men were described were almost erotically charged, with their muscularity and height being frequently remarked upon«*.

Impressions of women, on the other hand, appear to be rather contradictory. Medaković (1860, 20) described them as women to whom *»God has given the natural beauty that cannot be taken away«*, having a pleasant, often beautiful face and black lustrous eyes *»shining bright like a crystal«*. On a similar note, Holeček 1995, 37) wrote: *»What embellishes her (a Montenegrin woman) the most are the big, black, sparkling eyes with long eyelashes [...] The eyes of Montenegrin woman are irresistible«*.

Majority of authors, though, wrote of the toll that excessive work took on a woman, making her prematurely aged, with rough, wrinkled face and the sun-baked skin: *»their youthful freshness disappears early, their skin becomes rough, facial features lose their softness, complexion loses the freshness, and by the age of 30 they already look old and unattractive«* (Gopčević, 2008, 96). Their deteriorating physical appearance was *»hardly similar to that of the handsome mountaineers«* (Markov, 1995, 331). In her anthropological travel journal *Dalmatia. The Land where East meets West*, Maude Hollbach (1910, 177) wrote:

The Montenegrin market..., interested me greatly and I longed for an artist's brush to reproduce the splendid figures of the men in colour, but was sorry to see that these noble looking individuals left the hard work of carrying their produce to market to the overworked, prematurely aged women, whose existence seems to be little different to that of a beast of burden.

Age

In a similar vein, Sigfried Kapper 1999, 47) wrote that Montenegrin men, unlike overworked women, aged gracefully: *»there are very few beautiful old women in Montenegro, yet quite a few handsome and well-favored old men«*. It is probably that image of an aged woman (which stands in stark contrast to that of a man) that underlies the PU *ka(o) babetina* ((ugly) as an old wife) (Stevanović et al, 1983a, 12), applicable to both genders.

MAN – THE PRIVATE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The most prominent social roles of a man verbalized in the PUs of the studied corpus are those within the public sphere, based on his main *»occupations«* – warfare and feuding. Montenegrin man of the 19th century was primarily a warrior and the protector of the family and phratry. Institutionalization of war-like practices reflects on the private realm as well, giving rise to the *»son cult«* as the most obvious manifestation of male supremacy and dominance.

The private sphere: Son

Multitude of PUs grouped around lineage and (male) progeny clearly indicate its importance in the socio-cultural setting of the 19th century Montenegro. As many men were lost to warfare and feuding, Montenegrins were constantly confronting the threat of population decimation and even extinction. Being surrounded on all sides by a far more powerful enemy, they were acutely aware of the preservation of their own world – biological and cultural. The fear of imminent extinction that Montenegrins felt so keenly is translated well into phraseology through a number of PUs denoting extermination of a family/nation. In the context of the strongly patriarchal Montenegrin society, it primarily meant the extermination of the male progeny that was supposed to continue the 'family name' and uphold traditions (Pejanović, 2010, 130–131).

trag utrijeti/zatrijeti/iskopati (lit. obliterate every trace) (Stevanović et al., 1983b, 391), *pogibe, bi poginulo (kome) ime* (lit. one's name would die out) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 288), *kuću iskopati* (lit. dig out someone's house) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 394), *svijeću ugasiti* (lit. to put out someone's (patron saint) candle) (Stevanović et al., 1983b, 268).

There are two sources potentially underlying the phraseologism *ugasiti svijeću*. First, it could be motivated by the ritual celebration in honor of the family's patrilineal saint (slava/krsno ime). The image underlying PU is associated with the special *»slava candle«* that is lit on the occasion. The actual meaning thus conveys the message that there is no male posterity left to uphold the tradition of celebrating slava, or, in other words, the end of a male line. Second interpretation is linked to Slavic conceptions of light and dark in the afterlife. According to folk belief, the deceased needs light to be able see in the Otherworld. Therefore, a candle is lit next to his deathbed, and every year on Zadušnice (All Souls Day), to prevent the departed from remaining in the dark. If there is no posterity, there is no one to light the soul candle

(zadušna svijeća), so this interpretation also implies extermination of a family.

The importance of male progeny is probably reflected best in the optative constructions - idiomatic formulae of cursing. For a Montenegrin man, the worst curse involved either the loss of honor, or inability to produce male progeny:

Željela mu kuća muške glave (lit. May his house wish for a male head – May he remain sonless) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 114).

Dabogda se trag zatro (lit. May God make your traces obliterated – May your/his male line perish) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 428).

It is worth noting that communicative phrasemes (in this case idiomatic formulae of cursing), representing language »in action«, could prove to be a significant source in the reconstruction of extralinguistic cultural content. In other words, a curse itself, as a type of social interaction, allows a significant insight into the value system of a community. By invoking the worst misfortunes and adversities as the punishment for wrongdoing and sins, the curse uncovers the moral concepts of 'good' and 'evil', and the comprehension of justice (Pejanović, 2010, 131).

Another group of gender-marked PUs indicative of the social concepts and value hierarchies of a traditional patrilineal warrior society includes expressions denoting a male as the epitome of value:

(valja) mušku glavu (lit. worth a male head – of the highest value) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 114), *ka' jednoga sina* (lit. as the only son – to the highest degree possible) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 310).

Public sphere

Warrior: the heroic ethos

Montenegrin heroic code, and its core values »čojstvo i junaštvo« (honor and heroism) that originally were to be adhered to and upheld by warriors, became inextricably woven into the moral fabric of the entire society. The concept of čojstvo – a manly virtue, is a complex one: it is centered around, yet not limited to honor. It »emphasizes the need to act with integrity and rectitude, to treat adversaries with dignity, to show humility and respect for others, to behave fairly to other human beings, and most of all to be willing to sacrifice oneself for other members of the community« (Cole, 2011, 267). According to Christopher Boehm (1987, 73), it stands as a kind of antithesis to heroism, complementing it at the same time: »[It is] the highest level

of moral behavior in which the demands of heroism are tempered by a sense of humanity that is extended to one's enemy«. Heroism in its turn was considered to be a pinnacle of male excellence and virtue; it was »what made a Montenegrin man a man« (Marmier, 1853, 315). Phraseologisms denoting a man in his role of a brave warrior (junak) are plentiful:

sivi soko (lit. grey falcon) (Stevanović et al., 1983b, 279),

sivi orao/hitri orao (lit. grey eagle/fast eagle) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 586),

gorski/mrki vuk/od planine (lit. mountain/dark wolf) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 108, 126; 1983b, 228),

ljuti laf (lit. angry lion) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 419),

gorski/silni/ljuti/ognjeviti zmaj (lit. mountain/mighty/angry/fiery dragon) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 261, 556).

The standards to be observed in order to attain heroic status – the ultimate ambition of a Montenegrin man, were defined by the code of honor: bravery, honesty, strength and honor (čojstvo) were the fundamental values a Montenegrin lived by. Noteworthy is the fact is that these values are reinforced in phrase-olexicon through the opposition male-female:

kao ženetina (lit. as a woman⁷ – dishonorably) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 212);

živjeti pod maramom (lit. live under a kerchief; wear a kerchief (like a woman) – to live dishonorably) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 427);

pripasati žensku opregljaču (lit. to put on a woman's apron – to be dishonored) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 584).

The code of honor also calls for heroic death, for the only thing more important than the honorable and heroic life, to a warrior, is his glorious death in the battlefield. A Montenegrin »had been living his life, having in mind one special day: the day of his very own funeral when the 'whole Montenegro' would have come and salute him as the man of honor and heroism« (Stefan, 2016, 60). The concept of heroic death is also reflected in phraseolexicon:

ženski pomrijeti (lit. die like a woman – die dishonorably) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 212),

Glave muške ne kopa od puške (lit. May you never bury a male member of the family who is killed by a rifle – May you never have male posterity that would die (honorably) in war) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 114).

⁷ The original expression is intensified by the use of a pejorative term denoting a woman.



Figure 2: Raněný Černohorec - Wounded Montenegrin (Jaroslav Čermák, 1865) (Wikimedia Commons).

Anything but heroic death is a form of emasculation, thus all the negatively connotatively charged PUs appear to be female associated. The famous Serbian linguist Vuk Karadžić recorded that when one tribe was challenged by another, a common insult would be *»we know you and your family: all your ancestors died in bed with their wives«* (Karadžić 1837, 113). Marko Miljanov (1996, 47) wrote of Neda, the wife of Đuro Martinov from Medun, who didn't grieve for her sons who died in battle. The defeat of the enemy and heroic death was more than enough compensation for her: *»When I saw the Turks defeated...any son of mine who died – as if he was born again [...] that is exactly what I want, I want them to die [...] for if they didn't die, they would be called daughters, not sons, and their line would be disgraced«*.

Brother: Blood feud and the code of honor

Equally important to being distinguished heroically was the duty to uphold the honor of the clan – the political organization based on extended family, in which each man was *»a brother«*. Moral status and the collective reputation of the clan was to be maintained by acting in conformity to the ethical standards, and protected should it, in any way, come under attack of the other clans. This particularly applied to the blood feud – the communal responsibility of retribution in case a member of the clan was murdered. Blood feud was inextricably linked to Montenegrin moral perspective and demands of honor: should a clan fail to retaliate homicidally, the social pressure they faced was enormous:

Indeed it was blood feuds that placed an entire clan under the greatest moral pressure. When a feud began, the clan had to uphold its collective reputation in a very public way in a context that made it highly vulnerable to social evaluation and, if its members were too slow in trying to take vengeance, to being condemned as cowardly (Boehm, 1987, 74).

On the other hand, once it gets initiated, the feuding turns into a seemingly endless chain:

Though the life of my family is not completely typical of my homeland, Montenegro, it is typical in one respect: the men of several generations have died at the hands of Montenegrins, men of the same faith...My father's grandfather, my own two grandfathers, my father, and my uncle were killed, as though a dread curse lay upon them. My father and his brother and my brothers were killed even though all of them yearned to die peacefully in their beds beside their wives. Generation after generation, and the bloody chain was not broken (Đilas, 1958, 9).

The multiplication of reprisals, in turn, threatened to involve and affect the entire community. In extreme cases, such feuds could result in destruction of one side by the other (Zlataar, 2005, 27). Consequently, it was necessary to control the otherwise devastating power of blood feuds and tribal wars: Njegoš himself, much like his uncle and predecessor Prince-Bishop Petar I, *»ranted and raved, in his letters and missives to the various tribal leaders and prominent men, against protracted blood feuds, proffered advice, offered his mediation, and showered anathemas if they proved obdurate or failed to listen«* (Zlataar, 2007a, 26). In his epic *The Mountain Wreath*, we see Bishop Danilo constantly tormented by *»the possibility total extermination of the Montenegrins, both Christian and Muslim, in an enormous blood feud«* (Zlataar, 2007b, 611). That being said, the feuds that went too far were commonly settled through reconciliation of the parties involved: when the consequences of a protracted blood feud became rather far-reaching and threatened to disrupt everyday social relations, pacification process would be initiated to conclude hostilities.

Phraseologism *bratsko mito* (lit. brotherly bribe – blood money) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 442) refers to the custom of settling a blood feud by paying compensation to the aggrieved party. Other mechanisms that were used to pacify blood vengeance involved creating family ties through marriage, or making alliances such as *kumstvo* (godfatherhood) or *pobratimstvo* (blood brotherhood). In that respect, feuding, as Andrei Simić (1967, 92) claims, also *»served to manifest and strengthen the ties of kinship«* which might be reflected in the PUs *bratska ljubav* (brotherly love) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 416), and *Bog ti i bratska (ljubav)* (lit. in the name of God and brotherly love – In the name of God) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 39).

Despite the fact that Montenegrins, *»deeply attached to manly honor and sensitive to insults«* (Zlataar, 2007a, 26), preferred to take blood as compensation, there were numerous instances where a long-standing feud led to a non-violent conflict resolution, often achieved through the intervention and mediation of the community. Being largely embedded in the honor-shame dynamics, a blood feud invariably involved the point of *»honor balance«*: *»In order to replace the loss of honour, material compensation was not enough, but rather there was a need for spiritual and emotional reparation, as every injustice caused humiliation and shame of the injured party«* (Darovec, 2017, 73). Pacification process and the ceremony of peacemaking itself were *»dictated by the injured party and publicly demonstrated with symbolic words, gestures, and objects. The rituals consisted of self-humiliation (gift and counter-gift, homage), friendship (faith, truce), and the establishment of lasting peace (compensation, love, forgiveness)«* (Darovec et al., 2017, 410–411). It is precisely in the ritual of gift exchange and (self)

humiliation that women had a prominent role. Firstly, the practice of compensatory marriages was very common: fundamentally, such unions were, as Darovec (2019, 736) claims, »the exchange of blood for blood and life for life [...] Ritual marriages were gifts of women, who by giving birth to new life compensated for the life lost« and united the feuding parties into kin. Moreover, women played an important part in the ritual of humiliation: they actively intervened in the conflict resolution by performing the act of humiliation either as kume, the peace carriers – the group of up to twelve or fifteen women who would kneel on the ground while holding the new-born babies and pleading the injured party for mercy (Ergaver, 2016, 109), or sometimes resorted to acts such as chaining themselves to the fireplace in the victim's house to ensure the opening of peace negotiations (Darovec, 2017, 81).

Despite being the most prominent, the role in mediation was not the only responsibility a woman could assume in feuding. According to Vlahović and Dančetočić, (1961, 96–98) a woman's role in blood revenge was threefold: she was a) an instigator, b) an active participant c) a mediator. As far as retaliatory killing is concerned, responsibility of revenge rested on the victim's male relatives, yet there were instances when women too, took upon themselves the avenging of a family member. Moreover, the authors claim that women resorted to exacting retribution only in cases of absolute necessity, when there was no one else to assume such responsibility, yet they provide dramatic illustrations of female revenge in the form of Albanian folk songs *Hasimja* and *The Betrayal of Beyto Sula and the Revenge of his Wife*. Rather than the perpetrators, women were more likely to become the instigators of revenge. They would, for example, keep a blood-soaked piece of the victim's garment and keep showing it to their male relatives until blood is taken in return, or claim that the soul of the killed cried to them at night and would only rest when blood is paid for by blood (Zlata, 2005, 116).

The private sphere

Phraseologisms denoting a man in the private sphere are mostly associated with his role of a son. Father, much like husband, appears only once in the corpus of PUs under study. The private sphere is a sphere of woman's influence: »a man is a soldier and a guest in the house, woman is the head of household and that is why the burden of work and care falls mostly on her. She knows that the house doesn't rest upon the ground, but it rests upon a woman. She works tirelessly« (Nenadović, 1975, 78). Therefore, Montenegrin husband is not a traditional breadwinner – his primary role is that of a protector of his family. The honor code requires male precedence, toughness,

and the ability to protect members of the family – their lives and honor, though rarely in that order:

Muž je branič žene i deteta (A husband is meant to protect his wife and children) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 47).

Father (along with mother) appears in the PU denoting inheritance and upbringing. Notwithstanding the negative context, mother's role, once again, overshadows that of a father:

od zla oca i od gore majke (lit. descending from a bad father and a mother even worse – the dregs of society) (Stevanović et al., 1983a, 237).

CONCLUSION

Departing from the premise that culture-oriented perspective in studying phraseology renders it possible to uncover cultural knowledge that is inherited and passed down from generation to generation in the form of metaphor patterns, the present study focused on the units reflecting perceptions of gender roles in the 19th century Montenegro. In trying to spot the cultural traits in the semantic layer of phraseological representations of men and women, we did not rely on a purely linguistic approach: quite the contrary, we set out to explore the relationship of language and culture in the light of their organic unity, integrating both linguistic and the data or knowledge inherent to culture codes other than language – customs, beliefs, folklore, legends, myths, etc. Accordingly, the aim of the study has been to contribute to the growing field of inquiry into phraseology of Petar Petrović Njegoš and Montenegrin folk phraseology in several unique ways: by bringing both a gender perspective and a comprehensive multidisciplinary approach to discussion, and by shedding new, yet familiar light on the culture semantics of the units under study.

The study has argued that the examined verbalizations of gender stereotypes synthesize different forms of cultural knowledge and offer an insight into different dimensions of culture – modes of evaluating, interaction and social behavior. Supportive evidence is provided for the thesis that phraseology reflects conventionalized ways of construing phenomena within a speech community, serves a »cumulative function« by storing culturally relevant information, and, in general, reveals the culture-central concepts and values.

On a narrower scope, the findings of the study imply that gendered differences and stereotypes as translated by phraseological means reflect the social reality of the nineteenth-century Montenegro in a relatively reliable way. It particularly applies to phraseology denoting men and women in their social

roles. Woman's roles, as expected in any patriarchy, are closely tied to her reproductive function and childcare. Man's roles are those defined by the cultural keywords: a warrior, a protector of his family and phratry in the public, and the role of a son, the epitome of value and male superiority, in the private sphere. Stereotypical notions of physical characteristics and the corresponding verbalizations appear as equally indicative of both the given socio-cultural context in case of PUs grouped around age, and of universal tendencies in attribution of sex roles when it comes to physical appearance.

What lends a tentative corroboration to these findings is both the concurrence of ethnographic data with the results obtained from linguistic analysis,

and the fact that the studied phrasemes reflect the »key terms« of culture. Those keywords grounded in Montenegrin cultural framework – obraz, čast, junak, junaštvo, krvna osveta and čojstvo, emerge as the fundamental concepts in the analysis of the phrasemes as well.

In conclusion, it is hoped that this study has gone some way towards enhancing our understanding of gender specific units in Njegoš's phrasicon as carriers and transmitters of cultural knowledge, and of gender dynamics within the given social and cultural structures. With this in mind, we believe that the findings might bear relevance for further research and be of interest to those concerned with gender, phraseology, or interface of language and culture in general.

REKONSTRUKCIJA KULTURE SKOZI JEZIKOVNO KODIRANE SPOLNE STEREOTIPE – PRIMER FRAZELOGIJE PETRA II. PETROVIĆA NJEKOŠA

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POVZETEK

Izhajajoč s stališča, da jezik kot univerzalni semiotični sistem skozi sporazumevanje materializira in perpetuira stereotipe, pričujoči prispevek obravnava vprašanje, kako frazeološke enote kot jezikovni znaki odsevajo stereotipe ter na kakšen način in v kolikšni meri je njihova semantična vsebina povezana z zunajjezikovnim, družbeno-kulturnim kontekstom. Z raziskovanjem spolnih vlog, kodiranih v frazemih, ki smo jih pridobili iz dela Dictionnaire de la langue de Petar II Petrović Njegoš (1982), smo skušali orisati črnogorsko družbeno in kulturno zgodovino 19. stoletja. Pri preučevanju jezikovnih enot, organsko prepletenih s kulturo, smo vsebino frazemov analizirali z uporabo zgodovinsko-etnografskega pristopa in združevanjem jezikovnih in zunajjezikovnih podatkov, pri čemer smo se opirali tudi na metodologijo etnolingvistike (metodo jezikovne rekonstrukcije kulture). Pridobljeni rezultati kažejo, da razlike med spoloma z vidika udeležbe in sodelovanja v javni in zasebni sferi družbenega življenja, rekonstruirane preko jezikovnih sredstev, natančno odražajo dani družbeno-kulturni kontekst: ženski je dodeljena vloga matere in žene, moškemu pa vloga bojvnika in varuha bratstva in družine v javni sferi ter vloga sina v zasebni sferi. Stereotipno pojmovanje fizičnih lastnosti in pripadajoče frazeološko izrazje orisujeta družbeno-kulturni kontekst, a sta hkrati tudi izraz univerzalne težnje pripisovanja spolnih vlog.

Ključne besede: Petar II. Petrović Njegoš, frazeologija, vloge spolov, stereotipi, dihotomija javno/zasebno

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LITERARY TOURISM: THE ROLE OF RUSSIAN 19TH CENTURY TRAVEL LITERATURE IN THE POSITIONING OF THE SMALLEST EUROPEAN ROYAL CAPITAL – CETINJE

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ABSTRACT

Increasing competition on the global tourism market forces numerous tourist destinations to create a specific image and diversify their offers through innovative and sustainable tourism products. In view of this, there is a range of possibilities for utilizing historical resources, tangible and intangible cultural heritage, including travel literature, which has not been considered in Montenegro thus far in the context of potentials for enhancing the tourist offer. This paper is focusing on the research of travel literature by 19th century authors from Russia who wrote about Cetinje and Montenegro, as well as the possibilities of creating a destination image and diversified experience for specific market niches, primarily the tourists from Russia who have been among the most numerous in Montenegro. The expected outcome of the research is to point out the importance of valorisation of Russian traveler literature in the context of creating a destination image. Considering the negative propaganda of a part of the media in Russia when Montenegro entered NATO in 2017, it is expected that this Balkan and Adriatic country, whose primary business is tourism, will have to identify and acquire state-of-the-art modalities for attracting new target segments from the Russian Federation. In this paper, literary tourism with the concepts of town – museum, town of books and storytelling, as marketing communications tools, are proposed to promote the revival and valorization of historical events, historical figures and Cetinje's former image in the positioning of the tourism destination, also in the context of sustainable tourism development

Keywords: travel literature, literary tourism, heritage, destination image, destination positioning, storytelling, Cetinje

TURISMO LETTERARIO: IL RUOLO DELLA LETTERATURA DI VIAGGIO RUSSA DEL SECOLO XIX NEL POSIZIONAMENTO DELLA PIÙ PICCOLA CAPITALE REALE EUROPEA – CETTIGNE

SINTESI

La crescente competizione nel mercato del turismo globale incoraggia numerose destinazioni turistiche a creare un'immagine specifica e a diversificare la propria offerta attraverso prodotti turistici innovativi e sostenibili. Da questo punto di vista si presenta una serie di possibilità per la valorizzazione delle risorse storiche, del patrimonio culturale materiale e immateriale, compresi i libri di viaggio, che in Montenegro finora non sono stati presi in considerazione nel contesto del potenziale rafforzamento dell'offerta turistica. Nel presente lavoro ci concentriamo sull'analisi delle opere odepatiche degli scrittori di viaggio dell'Ottocento provenienti dalla Russia che hanno scritto sulla città di Cettigne e sul Montenegro ed esploriamo la possibilità di creare un'esperienza

diversificata per nicchie di mercato particolari, principalmente per turisti russi che sono i più numerosi in Montenegro. L'esito previsto della ricerca dovrebbe sottolineare il ruolo della valorizzazione dei libri di viaggio russi nel contesto della creazione dell'immagine di una destinazione. Considerata la presente propaganda negativa in alcuni media russi, da quando nel 2017 il Montenegro è entrato nella NATO, si prevede che questo paese balcanico, la cui attività principale è il turismo, dovrà identificare e progettare modalità innovative per attirare dalla Federazione Russa nuovi segmenti mirati. Nell'articolo vengono proposte nuove iniziative di marketing, incluso lo storytelling, al fine di promuovere e valorizzare eventi del passato, figure storiche e l'immagine di Cetigne di una volta in funzione dell'offerta turistica e della gestione sostenibile delle destinazioni turistiche.

Parole chiave: letteratura di viaggio, turismo letterario, patrimonio, immagine della destinazione, posizionamento della destinazione, storytelling, Cetigne

INTRODUCTION

The long-standing effort of Montenegro, where tourism is a priority economic sector, to effect a transition from a mass tourism destination (typical for Adriatic countries) to a sustainable tourism destination opens up a field of opportunities for innovation in cultural tourism offers. This is of paramount importance for towns such as Cetinje, the old Montenegrin royal capital at the foot of the mount Lovćen, which is generally recognized only as a short-stay destination for foreign tourists, despite the natural and cultural resources that were factors in the nomination of its historical core for the List of UNESCO World Heritage Sites. The image or a specific character of a town or a destination includes many elements, such as attractions, safety, local ownership, the quality of life of the locals etc., and is an essential factor of attracting tourists to a destination, as well as the factor of destination positioning, which is significant in the quickly changing market (Claveria, 2016). In the tourism literature, the concept of destination image has received a lot of attention (Santana & Sevilha Gosling, 2018; Echtner & Ritchie 1993, 2003; Tasci & Gartner, 2007; Dann, 1996), but the concept still remains vague due to different methodological frameworks employed in different studies. Sometimes, identity and brand of a destination are identified, bearing in mind that the destination brand represents destination identity, but, unlike identity, the destination image is a brand of a destination from the viewpoint of visitors (Šerić, 2011). In this sense, the identity of the local community is essential (Đurašević, 2015), and deeply intertwined with the local heritage. Thus, also rich literary heritage of Montenegro could be emphasized and included in the unique tourist offer of Cetinje. Travelogue writers from the past viewed Cetinje as a »miniscule capital«, and their colorful descriptions of the Montenegrin capital provide opportunities for the tourist utilization of the former Cetinje's story through the implementation of the storytelling concept, which, in the context of tourism, emerged twenty years ago and it implies application of innovative ways of animating tourists at the cultural tourism destinations, including cities, museums, etc. »Storytelling can play a role as a branding, marketing, stakeholder and visitor engagement, sustainable management and innovation strategy and tool« (Heritage, Tourism and Hospitality, 2018) especially if combined with the concept of a literary museum or the town-museum concept. In the article, this new tourism product (town – museum of literary heritage) based on the 19th century Russian travel literature, which could be employed for positioning of Cetinje and Montenegro, is discussed.

TOURISM CHALLENGES OF MONTENEGRO

Montenegro is a rising tourist destination (Monstat, 2018; Vitić-Četković *et al.* 2019), accompanied by a mixture of different images ranging from romanticizing the Adriatic destination to pointing out the wilderness and mafia business of this former Yugoslavian state. The Daily Telegraph described it as the »Jewel that thrilled Byron and Bond« (Pollinger, 2006), referencing to the fact that James Bond – Casino Royale was partly put to Montenegro and that the poet George Gordon Byron, who actually never visited Montenegro (Krivokapić & Diamond, 2017), presumably said: »When the pearls of nature were sown, on this soil an overflowing handful was gathered. The most beautiful contact between the earth and sea took place at the Montenegrin littoral« – the quote is often found on tourist websites¹ in Montenegro. In this country, the tourism sector brings 22 % of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and is expected to reach 30 % in the near future (Cerović Smolović *et al.*, 2018). Under the influence of globalization, numerous tourist destinations, and especially small countries, such as Montenegro, which is branding itself with the slogan »Wild Beauty«, are facing risks of having the values of their material tangible and intangible cultural heritage diminished and eventually lost (Jovanović & Vitić-Četković, 2013), especially if they are oriented towards mass tourism. On the other hand, tourism is an important factor in the promotion of cultural heritage, while cultural and historical resources are often the basis for positioning and creating the image of the country or the city as a tourist destination. Balancing between accepting the global market trends and preserving local attractions is one of the essential challenges of the contemporary destination positioning in the context of sustainable tourism development, which predicts tourists with increased awareness (Graham *et al.*, 2010) and the use of resources in a way that the continuity of use is guaranteed (Netto, 2009). In the long run, sustainability is the answer, also for Montenegro. Sustainable tourism and innovation is exactly what Cerović Smolović and others (2018) emphasized in their recent research. In this light, heritage and literary tourism is perceived as a significant tool in supporting the existent tourism activities and assisting to develop new ones employing sustainability concepts. Jurinčić (2016, 248) emphasizes the role of literary landscape in developing literary tourism and speaks of the »construction of a literary-tourism destination«. The importance of literary tourism as part of cultural tourism is, thus, growing, especially in tourism underdeveloped rural areas, which are often facing economic, social, demographic, environmental and other problems, »such as depopulation, lack of

1 f.e. <https://www.montenegropulse.com/> (last access: 8. 4. 2020), <https://www.holidayme.com/explore/dom-montenegro/> (last access: 8. 4. 2020), <https://www.sightseeingtoursmontenegro.com/about/> (last access: 8. 4. 2020), <http://www.montemove.co.za/> (last access: 8. 4. 2020).

financial resources and innovations, a peripheral position, lack of employment opportunities and high quality services, and the like» (Makuc, 2015, 586).

METHODOLOGY

This paper is based on the field research in situ, in Cetinje. 11 in-depth face to face and telephone semi-structured interviews, which are most commonly utilized techniques for qualitative data collection (Edwards & Holland, 2013; DiCicco-Bloom & Crabtree, 2006), were employed in the study. They were conducted individually with each interviewee and took between 20 minutes and 60 minutes. This method was chosen because it enables to get deeper, quality information on the researched matters. Tourism stakeholders and the locals of Cetinje were chosen for the interviews because one of the research questions the study was trying to answer was their (shared) understanding of heritage tourism in Cetinje. Interviews were analysed by theme coding (emphasis on the themes tourism, heritage, culture, literature) and interpreted, considering also *»the researcher's interactional experience«* (Alshenqeeti, 2014, 41) as Creswell (2009) advises.

Further on, narrative analysis was used, which has gained popularity in the social sciences in the last 30 years (Mainil & Plantenkamp, 2010; Mura & Sharif, 2016), and denotes a set of different methods focused on study of narratives, representations of realities in written and oral forms (Riessman, 2008). The term *»narrative«* indicates different concepts, for instance genre, metaphor, and discourse (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004). The method was chosen because it is useful in researching the complexity of social realities (Czarniawska, 2004). Narratives reflect realities, which is also one of the main assumptions of narrative analysis, namely that *»people's stories are important lenses through which we can explore social reality«* (Mura & Sharif, 2016, 195). What is more, they do not only reflect the reality, but also construct it (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Mura & Sharif, 2016). The research was focused on narrative analysis of discourse, more precisely, analysis of the descriptions of Montenegro by 19th century Russian travelers. According to Polkinghorne (1995), the following elements were referred to: the cultural context in which the text was produced, the narrator (views, emotions, understandings, experiences) and the narrator's significant others, the story. Based on narrative discourse analysis, the research explores the possibilities of reviving the identity of the former Cetinje and Montenegro as a possible asset in utilizing the intangible cultural heritage for tourist purposes. Thus, the travel literature by 19th century writers from Russia who wrote about Cetinje and Montenegro is analyzed and evaluated in the context of a possibility to create a diversified tourist experience for specific market niches, primarily the tourists and

the owners of the *»second homes«*, who are among the most numerous in Montenegro. Building on the *»experience economy«* (Pine & Gilmore, 1998, 105) that has its important cornerstone in tourism, literature review shows that a possible added value or marketing strategy to the cultural tourism of Cetinje is storytelling, that is, a revival and utilization of historical events, historical figures and landscapes that have not been a standard part of the destination's positioning and tourist offer. A theoretical model of the Cetinje (and similar destinations) tourism development based on the storytelling model by Mossberg *et al.* (2010) is offered.

LITERARY TOURISM AS A TOOL FOR HERITAGE PRESERVATION AND DESTINATION POSITIONING

Aluza *et al.* (1998), Agarwal and Shaw (2017) argue that in the 1990s heritage was one of the fastest growing and one of the most significant segments of tourism, and that more recently, heritage, which includes *»a range of past and present aspects of society such as language, culture, identity and locality«*, (Agarwal & Shaw, 2017, 4) has become integrated into tourism, *»reflecting the diverse ways in which tourism is being produced and consumed by tourists«* (Agarwal & Shaw, 2017, 2).

Today, sophisticated cultural tourism programs are used to enhance the visitor satisfaction to a potential city, yet, a challenge is in creating and implementing programs that take full advantage of a city's historical and literary cultures (Carson *et al.*, 2016). Some successful examples, especially from the United Kingdom, where literary tourism is well developed (Hoppen *et al.*, 2014) and researched (Busby & Shetliffe, 2013; Mansfield, 2015; Agarwal & Shaw, 2017), have proven that literary tourism, which comprises anything that is connected to literature, including literature events, performances and festivals, can be an effective tool in branding destinations and creating sustainable marketing strategies (Potočnik Topler, 2016). In Great Britain, according to Watson (2006), literary tourism is so naturalized as a cultural phenomenon that literary sites are marked on road maps and described in guidebooks. Not only in the United Kingdom, but also in Kenya, Japan, New Zealand, Argentina, Chile, Canada, United States, France, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, and Russia (Hoppen *et al.*, 2014), literary tourism has become a significant niche in the tourism industry. Zupan Sosič (2018) emphasizes good examples from Uzbekistan, Slovakia and China, where they developed various models of literary museums. In Tashkent, Museum of literature named after Alisher Navoi was established – with 17000 artefacts, portraits, photographs, books and manuscripts exhibited. Zupan Sosič (2018) points out that the structure of this literary museum is too traditional, lacking



Figure 1: View of Cetinje at the end of the 19th century (Wikimedia Commons).

modern ways of heritage presentation. In Slovakia, tourists have a possibility to visit the Slovak national literary museum in Martin (Zupan Sosič, 2018), which is focused on documentation of Slovak literature, its history, presentation and promotion. The biggest literary museum in the world is The National Museum of Modern Chinese Literature in Beijing, which functions both as a museum and as a research library (Zupan Sosič, 2018). Another concept of museums is „*the city as museum and museum as city*“, which is, according to Beasley approaching the town or the city „*as both a site for participation and a resource*“ (Beasley, 2017), and where the whole town or city is a museum – by entering a town tourists or visitors actually enter the museum as well. This concept deserves consideration also in the case of Cetinje and similar historic towns, where there is no room for a new museum building or where the existent history museums are really struggling to reach their audiences, are working according to the outdated, 20th-century model, and are faced with the challenge how to articulate and demonstrate

their public value (Tisdale, 2013). Employing digital technologies to connect to the audiences, locals and tourists, is vital (Swift, 2013).

Since the World Tourism Organization argues that, in fact, more than 40 % of all international tourists are »cultural tourists« (Richards, 1996), this segment of tourism needs special attention also in Montenegro. At the same time, it needs to be emphasized that the definition of cultural tourism and cultural tourist is still vague (Aluza et al., 1998). According to Richards (1996), however, most definitions on cultural tourism agree that the essential ingredient of cultural tourism is consumption of culture by tourists. In 2017, at the 22nd Session of the General Assembly held in Chengdu, China, a new operational definition of cultural tourism was generated from the UNWTO (UNWTO, 2017, 18), stating as follows:

Cultural tourism is a type of tourism activity in which the visitor's essential motivation is to learn, discover, experience and consume the

tangible and intangible cultural attractions/products in a tourism destination. These attractions/products relate to a set of distinctive material, intellectual, spiritual and emotional features of a society that encompasses arts and architecture, historical and cultural heritage, culinary heritage, literature, music, creative industries and the living cultures with their lifestyles, value systems, beliefs and traditions.

Of course, not all cultural tourists are the same. Galí-Espelt (2012) identifies two main groups of cultural tourists: 1) tourists whose main motivation is to consume culture and 2) those for whom culture is a secondary motivation.

As a type of cultural or heritage tourism, primarily connected to visiting *»places famous for associations with books or authors«* (Squire, 1993, 5), literary tourism has potential for its development also in Montenegro since there is a strong literary tradition dating back centuries ago (Krivokapić & Diamond, 2017). Montenegrin monasteries keep a number of medieval manuscripts, and the National Library of Montenegro in Cetinje, named after Đurđe Crnojević, the ruler of Montenegro who in 1493 founded the first state printing house in the world, stores a unique collection of books (National Library of Montenegro, 2018a). Literary places, also Cetinje, which were visited by 23609 visitors, who produced 61350 overnight stays in 2018 (Monstat, 2018), attract many teachers, academics, pupils, students, and other tourists who are fond of literatures. Observing the heritage and importance, Cetinje is compared to Italian Lucca and to Edinburgh, the capital of Scotland (Lalovic, 2014), the towns rich in literary traditions and heritage. In fact, the whole town – due to its size and geographical position – is as a heritage or literary museum. Smith (2012, 24) argues that one of the reasons for visiting literary places is also that *»people enjoy stories because they give them pleasure«*. In every culture, stories have always played significant roles in prescribing behavior, establishing meaning and constituting identity (Godsil & Goodale, 2013), hence the term *»homo narrans«* for people (Fisher, 1984, 6). Storytelling represents a specific post-modernist approach to conveying information from the host to the guest, from the curator or the tourist guide to the visitor, characterized by a strong experience component, that is, the tourist experience required by the contemporary tourism consumers. They are supported by the information and communication technologies, more informed, more independent and individualistic, more actively involved (Pera, 2014), and *»they also tell stories about their experiences to other people«* (Yilmaz, 2016, 136). Given the development of communication technologies, which has enriched the tourist's communication environment (Vilpponen *et*

al., 2006), these stories spread quickly and globally, influencing the tourism sector, which is sensitive to the innumerable mediated visitor experiences in social media (Lund *et al.*, 2017). Recent research on literary tourism also indicates that literature is a significant element in the sustainable strategies of tourism development (Yiannakis & Davies, 2011), in preserving place's heritage and identity (Jurinčič, 2016), for increasing tourist awareness, appeal and viability of the destination (Connel & Meyer, 2009). What is more, since market segmentation and differentiation of tourism products are increasing, literary tourism and other subtypes of cultural and heritage tourism (e. g. screen tourism) are of global importance with the market thus becoming very competitive (Agarwal & Shaw, 2017). However, measuring of this type of tourism is problematic, especially because tourists visit sites, cities and destinations for a multitude of different reasons (Busby & Klug, 2001).

RELATIONS BETWEEN RUSSIA AND MONTENEGRO

Official statistics (Monstat, 2018) show that today, in Montenegro tourists and residents from the Russian Federation are among the most numerous ones. It is also estimated that approximately 20,000 Russian citizens live in Montenegro and that they have purchased close to 70,000 various properties.

With the accession of Montenegro to NATO in 2017 and the corresponding negative propaganda coming from some of the Russian media, it is to be expected that Montenegro will have to come up with some modalities for retaining the existing target market segments from the Russian Federation, as well as attracting new ones. After the 2018 expel of a Russian diplomat from Montenegro over a nerve agent attack in England that the British government has blamed on Russia, and Moscow's expel of a Montenegrin diplomat from Russia (nytimes.com), this might represent an even bigger challenge. Among other things, creation of tourist products based on the historical and cultural links between the Russian Federation and Montenegro will be required, while recognizing the intangible cultural heritage and the principles of sustainable tourism development.

Considering that this paper explores the possibilities of utilizing the travel literature written by the 19th century Russian authors, as well as a revival of historical events and figures through a specific cultural tourism offer, it is appropriate to provide a brief background review of the socio-political relations between Russia and Montenegro. Political relations between Russia and Montenegro date back to 1711. Upon the call to arms against the Ottomans, issued by the Russian Emperor Peter I, the Montenegrins were the sole people among all Balkan Christians to respond to the call. As a token of gratitude for their support and



Figure 2: Cetinje monastery (Wikimedia Commons).

loyalty, the Russian Emperor Peter the Great, as well as all Russian emperors in the later periods, had provided ample assistance to Montenegro. The Montenegrin bishop Petar II Petrović Njegoš was ordained in Saint Petersburg in 1833, and Russia supported him in the organization of the state government, acquisition of books and opening of the first schools in Montenegro. Thanks to the assistance of the Russian government and the Holy Synod, the first high schools were also opened in Montenegro in 1869 – the Maiden Institute and the Cetinje Seminary. Russian subsidies were received by the Montenegrin Crown, Danilo I hospital, as well as the Montenegrin Army. Russia had assisted Montenegro in purchasing weapons, grain, and in obtaining loans (Rastoder & Andrijašević, 2006). Following the recognition of the independence of Montenegro at the Berlin Congress in 1878, Russia was the first of

all European powers to establish diplomatic relations with Montenegro.

The first Russian who wrote about Montenegro was Peter A. Tolstoy, a Russian boyar who had been taught seamanship and maritime skills by the seaman Marko Martinović in Boka at the end of the 17th century. There are testimonies by V. B. Bronevsky, a Russian officer at the beginning of the 19th century about the joint action of Russians and Montenegrins in the struggle against Napoleon in Boka (Martinović, 2005, 7). However, much more was written about the Old Montenegro,² although in fairly later periods of time. Namely, in the second half of the 19th century, after the territorial expansion and international recognition of Montenegro, along with the Western European explorers, quite a few of their Russian counterparts visited the smallest Balkan nation (Martinović, 2005).³

² The poorest and the most rugged mountain areas of contemporary Montenegro that originally encompassed 4 counties and Brda („The Hills»), while the coastal county did not belong to Montenegro.

³ Dušan J. Martinović stated that from 1822 until 1989 there had been more than 5000 bibliographical entries about Montenegro in the Russian press (see. D. J. Martinović, E. Markov and his travelogue about Montenegro in Markov, 2005, 7).



Figure 3: *The National Library of Montenegro »Đurđe Crnojević«, Cetinje (Wikimedia Commons).*

They were mainly scientists who would translate their impressions into notes and stories upon returning to their countries. The most prominent place among them is certainly occupied by the Slavacist, ethnographer, geographer and historian P. A. Rovinsky who came to Montenegro in 1879. Paul the Russian, as this professor at the University of Kazan used to be called in Montenegro, spent a total of 27 years on the territory of Montenegro with minor interruptions in order to translate the results of his extensive research into numerous works, studies, debates and monographs. Among his numerous publications, the most prominent place belongs to the multivolume work *Montenegro in the Past and Present* printed in St. Petersburg in the period from 1888 to 1915, translated into the Montenegrin language and published in 2004 by Obod publishing house from Cetinje. The records and testimonies of other Russian authors are far more modest in scope; however, they are important because they did result from directly acquired knowledge on Montenegro in the period of the establishment of Montenegrin legal

and state government institutions. A certain number of their observations in the form of travel notes, translated into the Montenegrin language are available to readers thanks to the publishing house Cid from Podgorica which published them as a part of the series of books entitled *Svjedočanstva (Testimonies)* (Bronevski, 1995; Rovinski, 1998, 2001, 2004a, 2004b; Bašmakov, 1986; Golcin, 1999; Kovaljevski, 1999; Varava, 2002; Markov, 2005; Petković, 2005; Aleksandrov, 2006).

CETINJE IN THE EYES OF RUSSIAN TRAVELERS FROM 19TH CENTURY

Cetinje, the old Montenegrin royal capital and today's center of arts and culture, where national institutions of culture (e. g. National Museum, National Library, Biljarda – Residence and the Museum of Petar II Petrović Njegoš, Archeological Museum, University of Arts, Ministry of Culture etc., the residence of Montenegrin President is also here) are located, was well noticed also by curious Russian explorers, who would

not skip descriptions of Cetinje in their travel books. In the first decade of the reign of Nikola Petrović Njegoš, this small town consisted of only 70 thatched roof houses. On the eve of the Second World War, Cetinje reached the number of 4300 inhabitants and 500 houses. Despite its modest size, Cetinje had in the past been constitutionally defined as the cultural, spiritual and historical center of Montenegro. It was born more than 500 years ago with the book *Oktoih* (The Cetinje Octoechos, 1494) made in the printing press that is considered to be the first state printing house in the world. In the era of the Crnojević noble family it was a tiny capital, which, due to the fact it was constantly susceptible to and threatened by the Ottomans, would only be affirmed as a city core, in the cultural and urban sense, as late as the second half of the 19th century (Jovanović & Vitić-Četković, 2011). In the years 1592 and 1593, 42 books were registered in the Cetinje Monastery – they are considered the first surviving book lists in the country. Another significant milestone in the Montenegrin literary history is the year 1838, when the bishop, ruler and poet Petar II Petrović Njegoš separated secular from religious books, all of which have been acquired by him and his predecessor Petar I, and transferred them from the Cetinje Monastery to his residence called Biljarda. It is considered that Njegoš's library has functioned as a state library. In 1893, prince – bishop Nikola I Petrović marked 400th anniversary of the Crnojević printing house by establishing a public library (National Library of Montenegro, 2018b). For the purposes of this paper, we have selected the literary body of 4 travelogue records by Russian explorers who visited Montenegro during the transformation of the town of Cetinje into the capital with outlines of a European city. The first to be mentioned here is the Russian scientist Alexander Alexandrov, whose reason for visiting Cetinje was the jubilee celebrated on the occasion of the 400th anniversary of the Obod press. Next is Evgeny Markov, a writer – ethnographer who was accompanied by his wife during their stay in Cetinje in 1895. We have also selected the records of Prince Golitsyn, who had spent several months with his two friends in, as he stated, »the picturesque Slavic principality which preserved the beautiful traits of patriarchal life« (Golicin, 1999, 7), and finally, the botanist – teacher of natural sciences Mikhail Petrovich Varava, who turned his second consecutive visit to Montenegro in the summer of 1900 into a travelogue published in 1903 in Moscow.

Evgeny Markov graduated from the Kharkov University where he had received his master's degree in natural sciences. However, he early started writing and publishing literary works in established Russian journals. He reached a wider reading audience with his numerous travel books, including the travelogue *Traveling around Serbia and Montenegro*, published in 1903 in St Petersburg. This Russian publicist and

ethnographer was accompanied by his wife on his trip to Montenegrin areas in 1895. The second part of the aforementioned travelogue was dedicated to the Montenegro country, and he dedicated the fifth chapter of the total of 15, to Njeguši and Cetinje, where he describes the capital of Montenegro:

Cetinje is actually a village, but it is still the capital of the Principality. Low, ground floor houses, quite poorly built, even worse plastered, are strewn along the streets, connected with passes, which makes up the entire town. If one eventually happens to come across a house with a floor somewhere, it will also look like an ordinary farmhouse. I can see this entire tiny town from my carriage (Markov, 2005, 320).

Further in the text, Markov quotes the Russian Colonel Yegor Kovalevsky, who after visiting Cetinje in 1841 noted that the entire »Cetinje consisted of monastery premises, which house barely a dozen cells and a narrow church« (Markov, 2005, 325), concluding that at that time it also provided space for a hotel and the Russian Maiden Institute, supported at the expense and under patronage of Empress Maria, as well as a hospital, barracks and the prison, even a sort of a bank, the so-called Montenegrin Savings.

Prince D. M. Golitsyn (Muravlin), a Russian author born in Germany, published a number of novels and plays; his works were translated into Italian, French and German. With his two compatriots, on the eve of the annexation crisis in 1898, he visited Montenegro, whose nature and people enthralled him. In his book *By the Blue Sea*, illustrated with over 200 photographs, Golitsyn celebrates Montenegro and invites Russian tourists to visit the picturesque Slavic principality which preserved the beautiful traits of patriarchal life. For his work, Golitsyn was awarded the Order of Prince Danilo, 3rd Class (Luketić, 1999, 177). He describes Montenegro as probably the most beautiful country in Europe, while in his description of Cetinje he notes:

Cetinje is a small yet powerful city, original as a fairy tale and simple as a folk song. As we observe it, we feel that its tiny proportions hide an obscure greatness. In time, Cetinje will grow into a big city, but even today everyone who comprehends its role as the Mecca of Southern Orthodox Slavs recognizes its greatness (Golicin, 1999, 106).

Mikhail Petrovich Varava, the Russian zoologist and botanist, the author of a series of handbooks and textbooks on the history of natural sciences published in Russia, was primarily interested in the flora and fauna of Montenegro. In his travelogue, *Around Montenegro*, which was written in 1900 and illustrated



Figure 4: Blue Palace, Cetinje (jaffeuxnouguier, <https://www.flickr.com/photos/chagoule/7440104754>).

with a multitude of photographs, Varava's attention is also caught by Cetinje's tiny houses:

In the distance, at the southeast end of the fields, Cetinje houses were glistening in white. In twenty minutes we were already in the main Cetinje street, where we found numerous ground floor and one-floor houses. Whitish, plastered houses, with red roofs covered with tiles and blue window shutters, observe the newcomers with cuddly demeanor as if they were welcoming them [...] (Varava, 2002, 45).

Alexander Alexandrov was a Russian scientist, university professor, travel writer and a church dignitary. He studied at the historical-philological department of the renowned Kazan University, and received a doctorate in Slavic philology. In addition to mastering numerous Slavic languages, he was also an outstanding scholar of Sanskrit. He wrote numerous books in the fields of Slavic studies, Psychology and Physiology. During his visit to Montenegro in July 1893, as a representative of the Kazan University, he attended the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the beginning

of printing activities among the South Slavs. In 1894, in Kazan, he published his impressions about this significant jubilee as well as the accompanying events that took place on that occasion. The fourth chapter of his book, out of the total of six, is entitled »The Capital of Montenegro«. Alexandrov was surprised by the size of the town with mere 1500 inhabitants:

It is a group of tiny houses scattered across the wide »valley«, surrounded from all sides by lifeless, steep and bare hills; only a low forest, a kind of shrub, appears here and there; the houses are lined up along one wide, long and straight street, with two transverse and smaller streets stretching across the middle part, like two sleeves (Aleksandrov, 2006, 68–69).

Alexandrov then proceeds to describe the monastery, the Prince residence, as well as the Crown Prince residence, which he describes as a small cottage and then the central square where his attention is drawn to the Big Elm, where the Montenegrin rulers, as he points out, have tried and settled disputes in the past as well as in the present.

Table 1: Arrivals and overnight stays in Montenegro by countries in 2017 (Monstat, 2018).

Country	Arrivals	Nights
Serbia	405.426	2.942.858
Russia	350.468	3.059.123
Bosnia and Herzegovina	183.690	1.083.048
France	60.865	292.545
Germany	57.813	313.748
Ukraine	57.795	439.255
Albania	56.206	214.365
Poland	56.061	292.779
Kosovo	46.948	255.117
Italy	35.525	142.410

Analyzing the writings of Russian travel writers from today's perspective, it is concluded that in the contemporary theory and practice of destination marketing, tourism valorization of travel literature is not given enough attention. The fact is that the image of the destination is variable, and that the existing image of Cetinje is not aligned with the Montenegrin strategic directions of the destination's development (such as positioning of Montenegro as an all-year destination with a focus on attracting high-spending segments of tourists). This initiates the need for the revision of the current positioning of Cetinje and the creation of innovative sustainable tourism products for tourists and residents (real estate owners from the Russian Federation and other countries), where travel literature from the past represents an important resource base.

VALORIZATION OF TRAVEL WRITING OF RUSSIAN TRAVELERS BY STORYTELLING AS A MARKETING COMMUNICATION AND BRANDING TOOL

Montenegro has been continuously striving to attract new market segments, including the ones whose primary motivation is connected to cultural and historical attractions. Tourists visiting a destination are increasingly expecting an authentic experience and an adventure that will inspire and intrigue them, and in that sense, the storytelling concept can be a specific addition to the existing cultural and tourism product of Cetinje. Many scholars (Fog *et al.*, 2005; Mathews & Wacker, 2007; Wachtman & Johnson, 2009; Bierman, 2010; Lund *et*

al., 2017) opine that storytelling is, in fact, essential in branding (tourism) products as stories are so essential to humans that Gottschall (2012) named them Storytelling Animals (Bassano *et al.*, 2019). Especially with the democratization of information production that enables the construction of brands within social media as a collective creational process drawing in multiple brand authors who all share their stories (Gensler *et al.*, 2013). Brands are required to be distinctive (Bierman, 2010), and special stories may facilitate the distinctiveness of a brand or a destination. Stories about Russian-Montenegrin relations based on the existent heritage and Russian literature about Montenegro represent an opportunity to bring literary tourism and storytelling into practice to develop a distinctive cultural destination. One of the possibilities for Cetinje as a tourism destination is to combine the concept of »storytelling« and the »Scheherazade Strategy«,⁴ which integrates the following four functions (Lekić, 2013):

- Presentation of the heritage through a story that is supposed to build the narrative identity of the place (storyline),
- Placing the story into a desired timeframe, management of the pace and narration throughout the duration (timing),
- Shaping the destination message, that is, highlighting the tourist attractions (framing),
- Building a network on the Internet and in the field, drawing the attention to and structuring the preferred tourist market niche (networking).

⁴ Christian Salmon, a writer and researcher in the Center for art and language research (CNRS) in Paris, in his books *Storytelling: ili pričam ti priču* (Salmon, 2011) and *Strategija Šeherezade* (Salmon, 2011b), covered the storytelling mechanism serving big business and politics in detail (adapted in accordance with Lekić, 2013).

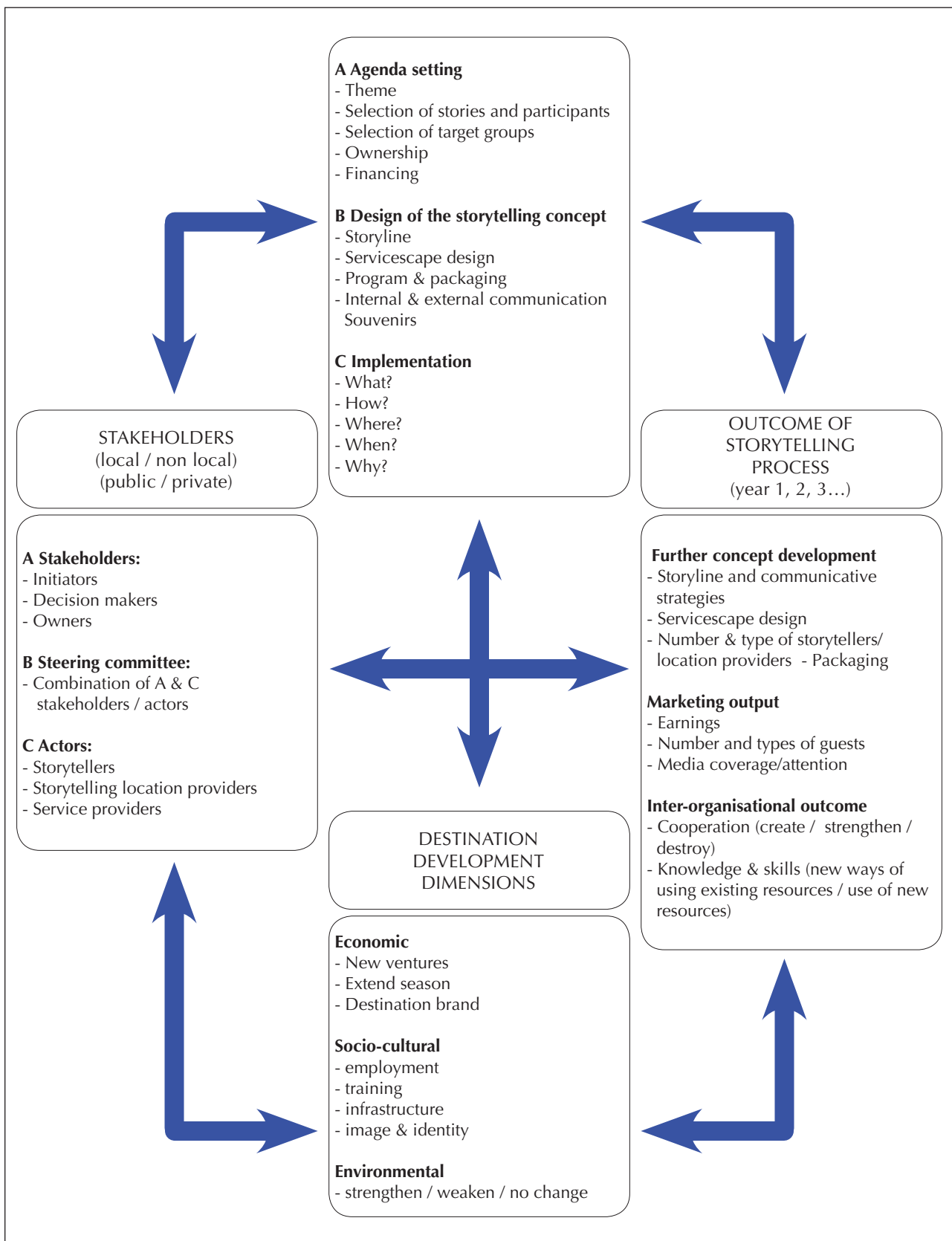


Figure 5: Storytelling process (adapted according to Mossberg *et al.*, 2010).

Also the tourist organization or the Destination Management Organization (DMO) needs to adapt its practices, become aware of the significance of new media and the fact that social media are (becoming) major spaces of storytelling. In this light, Cetinje ought to consider participating in some branding initiatives, such as for example the European Best Destination Competition or/ and the European Capital of Culture since both were designed to celebrate cultural features in Europe, highlight the richness and diversity of European cultures, regenerate cities, enhance the image of cities in the eyes of the locals, boost tourism etc. (European Best Destinations, 2018; European Capital of Culture, 2018).

11 anonymous locals were asked about the significant stories of the town Cetinje. Interviewees were allowed to enumerate up to 3 most important ones according to their opinion. 8 responded that the story about Njegoš is the most important one. As the second and the third ideas for the outstanding stories they offered: museums in Cetinje, the library in Cetinje, the story about Crnojević, the story about mount Lovćen, the story about the town as a meeting point of generations (young students attending faculties in Cetinje and older locals), the story about the President of Montenegro residing in Cetinje and the story about traditional inns and guest houses. 1 interviewee answered that the story of the Cetinje prosciutto should be the leading story of Cetinje, 1 mentioned the library and all the preserved manuscripts, and 1 interviewee mentioned numerous cultural events. All three put Njegoš and its legacy in the second place. 1 interviewee also mentioned the President as the third possible story. All the interviewees support tourism development in Cetinje, mostly because they see tourism as a surviving tool. The locals also expect and want foreign investments. When asked about what kind of tourism they support, the majority of answers (7) implied that sustainable tourism is not really the concept they strive for as they expect building a big hotel that could accommodate many tourists, and also visitors coming by buses. However, the majority of answers shows that the locals support some type of heritage tourism and culinary tourism, with the leading story being the town's rich cultural heritage of Njegoš. When asked about the Russian writers, the interviewees were not familiar with the authors, but they expressed awareness that during the history Cetinje was an interesting stop for many intellectuals.

»The story« of Cetinje, and also the story of the Russian-Montenegrin relations and the historical figures who highlighted them should be much more than a mere access to information. The literary dimension could be expanded by offering an in situ sensorial experience by including typical 18th century Montenegrin food, clothes, drinks etc. Scarfuto (2013) emphasizes the role of literary routes and their contribution to cultural

heritage tourism. It is essential to enable the destination visitors to identify themselves with the place on the basis of the rich heritage and the storytelling method that is considered to be an added value to the cultural tourism product – also by utilizing the technology. The use of this concept has also proven to be successful in tourist utilization of the destinations without a high level of tourist attractiveness or those that have not been sufficiently explored, but have a rich and turbulent history (Banaszkiewicz *et al.*, 2016).

Storytelling performed by the museum curators, tourist guides and animators (greeters) in the Russian language, thematic evenings and themed trails based on historical figures and events that testify to historical Russian-Montenegrin connections can prove to be innovative tourist products for the Russian market, which has been one of the most important emitting markets for Montenegro for a number of years now (Table 1).

Nowadays, numerous tourism segments tend to visit destinations and choose tourism products based on the experience, learning and participating. They tend not to buy the tourist product, but the stories behind the product (Mossberg, 2007). Story themes may be different: history, nature, food, people, architecture etc. Thus, after analyzing the travel literature and the stories by 19th century authors from Russia, next step is utilization of the travel literature, in other words, the storytelling revitalization of the former Cetinje's image, also by employing new technologies. This should be accompanied by a special animation, which would among other things include folk costumes/old clothing from the specified time in the history, simulation of old crafts, customs, everyday life of the town with engaging tourists as promoters of the recovered destination image. Engaging tourists and visitors through stories as promoters, not followers in co-creating destination image also represents a sustainable tourism practice. Accordingly, storytelling offers opportunities for the sustainable destination management of Cetinje, but the pre-condition is to get institutional support in the tourism policy for the strategic development of stories and their usage as marketing communication tools in tourism, as well as support for the development of digital and transmedia storytelling in Montenegrin tourism. Anyway, an important aspect of storytelling within the destination must be the tourist involvement and active participation, because tourists' interaction may result in the co-creation of memorable experiences. On the other hand, the storytelling concept requires communication between different stakeholders: tourism policy makers, destination organizations and service providers. It includes tourism organisations, public administration at local and regional levels, private partners, different types of service providers (hotels, restaurants, museums, shops etc.) and storytellers (individuals). The storytelling model adapted

according to Mossberg *et al.* (2010) represents the multi-way communication process of storytelling at a destination.

CONCLUSION

Globalization processes affect increasing competitiveness of destinations worldwide. Accordingly, numerous tourist destinations, Montenegro among them, tend to become distinctive by creating a specific image and marketing position. Thus, literary tourism and storytelling play an increasingly important role in the content of destination marketing and sustainable tourism development. This is because the destination marketing positioning based on storytelling strengthens the destination identity, reduces seasonality of the tourist demand, and acts against the mass tourism approach, which is the prevailing orientation of all Adriatic countries. Memorable stories and events about the destinations promote the quality of tourism experiences and support the destination competitiveness.

The long and complex history of Montenegro and Cetinje as its capital has determined the specific multicultural identity of these destinations. The image was a subject of manuscripts and notes by numerous writers, including those from Russia, who traveled around Montenegro and presented their observations on the country, history, people, Cetinje as the royal

capital to a wider reading audience in their home countries in the form of travel literature. With the richness of their descriptions, those travelogues provide opportunities to create sustainable tourism products for specific niche markets. Cetinje is mainly perceived as an excursion destination by the foreign tourists, therefore its tourism organization (DMO) should utilize the possibilities of diversifying the tourist experience through literary tourism and storytelling products employing new technologies and social media, perhaps participating in the European Best Destination Competition and competing for the title of the European Capital of Culture. In order to ensure that storytelling has an impact on sustainable destination development, the tourism organisation must establish active and collaborative linkages with the tourism industry, the local inhabitants and other stakeholders of the region. Although it is true that Cetinje and Montenegro have numerous cultural and historical resources for the development of tourism, one should not forget that others too have such resources, so a balanced adaptation to the market trends along with distinctiveness is required, through creating experiences, products and services that will meet the expectations of not only the targeted consumer segments, but also those of the local population who, combining the travel literature and storytelling, preserve the heritage and collective memory.

LITERARNI TURIZEM: VLOGA RUSKE POTOPISNE KNJIŽEVNOSTI 19. STOLETJA V UMEŠČANJU NAJMANJŠE EVROPSKE KRALJEVE PRESTOLNICE – CETINJE

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POVZETEK

Velika konkurenca na turističnem trgu sili destinacije, tudi Črno goro, k nenehnemu dopolnjevanju in nadgrajevanju turistične ponudbe in podobe destinacije. V procesih znamčenja in ustvarjanja podobe destinacije je izjemno pomembna vloga kulturne dediščine, tudi literarne, ki v Črni gori še ni dobila ustreznega mesta med turističnimi produkti. Članek na osnovi terenskega raziskovanja v prestolnici Cetinje, pregledovanjem gradiva v tamkajšnji Nacionalni knjižnici Črne gore, z analizo delno strukturiranih intervjujev s turističnimi deležniki na Cetinju ter z uporabo narativne analize potopisov ruskih avtorjev Aleksandra Aleksandrova, Jevgenija Markova, Princa Golitsina in Mihaila Petroviča Varave, analizira možnosti vključitve bogate literarne dediščine Črne gore v njeno turistično ponudbo in umeščanje na globalnem turističnem trgu, še posebej v luči odnosov med Rusijo in Črno goro, ki se spreminjajo s pridružitvijo te balkanske in jadranske države zvezi NATO in s približevanjem Evropski uniji. V prestolnici Cetinje prevladujejo ruski obiskovalci, prav tako predstavljajo ruski turisti pomemben delež v vsej Črni gori, nenazadnje so tudi lastniki veliko nepremičnin. Kljub spreminjajočim se odnosom med Rusijo in Črno goro si Črna gora prizadeva ohraniti delež ruskih turistov in privabiti nove segmente gostov iz Rusije. Raziskava ugotavlja, da je literarni turizem s koncepti mesta - muzeja, mesta knjig in zgodbarjenja primerno orodje oziroma strategija za ustvarjanje trajnostnih produktov na osnovi (ruske) literarne dediščine, ki bodo Cetinje in Črno goro ustrezno umestili na globalnem turističnem trgu, oblikovali želeno podobo destinacije, privabili nove segmente turistov in pripomogli k ohranjanju kulturne dediščine.

Ključne besede: potopisi, literarni turizem, dediščina, podoba destinacije, umeščanje destinacije, zgodbarjenje, Cetinje

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THE »PERGOLA VALDOSTANA« AND HEROIC VITICULTURE IN AOSTA VALLEY (ITALY): A CASE STUDY ON A TRADITIONAL WINE-GROWING SYSTEM

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ABSTRACT

In order to preserve the Alpine vineyard landscape on the Piedmont, Aosta Valley and Savoy border sides, the ALCOTRA Interreg Project (»VI.A. STRADA DEI VIGNETI ALPINI«) included a series of activities and studies among which the authors were involved and this work illustrates some first results. A socio-economic survey was implemented on a small sample of micro-farms in Aosta Valley that still practice viticulture according to the typical »Pergola Valdostana« systems, in order to assess the critical points of this much less competitive cultivation system compared to the classic espalier. The first results confirm the need to enact at an institutional level various types of support (not only economic) to preserve a unique landscape in the context of heroic viticulture.

Keywords: alpine vineyards, terraces safeguard, viticulture enhancement, ALCOTRA Project

LA PERGOLA VALDOSTANA E LA VITICOLTURA EROICA IN VALLE D'AOSTA (ITALIA): CASO DI STUDIO RELATIVO A UN SISTEMA TRADIZIONALE DI ALLEVAMENTO DELLA VITE

SINTESI

Nell'ottica di salvaguardare il paesaggio viticolo alpino nell'area transfrontaliera compresa tra Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta e Savoia, il progetto Interreg ALCOTRA denominato »VI.A. STRADA DEI VIGNETI ALPINI« ha sviluppato una serie di attività e studi nei quali gli autori sono stati coinvolti. Il presente lavoro illustra alcuni primi risultati relativi alla Valle d'Aosta. È stata organizzata un'indagine socio-economica su di un piccolo campione di micro-aziende valdostane che praticano ancora la coltivazione della vite secondo il tradizionale sistema della »Pergola Valdostana«, al fine di valutare i punti critici di questo sistema di allevamento meno competitivo rispetto alla classica spalliera a Guyot. I primi risultati confermano la necessità di attuare a livello istituzionale vari tipi di sostegno (non solo economico) per preservare un paesaggio unico nel contesto della viticoltura eroica.

Parole chiave: vigneti alpini, salvaguardia dei terrazzamenti, valorizzazione della viticoltura, Progetto ALCOTRA

INTRODUCTION

The vine is a plant characterised by a great climatic adaptability and, for this reason, it has spread worldwide. Its adaptability allowed it to be grown even in alpine areas since ancient times. In Italy, vineyards are common in many mountain areas: Trentino Alto Adige is probably the best-known example because of its vineyards' width and its renowned wines, along with Valtellina in Lombardy, specialized in Nebbiolo vineyards and wines (Mazzarino, 2006).

We can also find similar situations in the Italian, French and Swiss sides of the Western Alps, characterised by significant slopes. In Aosta Valley (North-West of Italy, on the French and Swiss borders) there are still many terraced areas cultivated with vines, although their surface is shrinking due to the difficulties encountered in cultivating them. The vineyards grow up to altitudes of 1000-1100 meters, along slopes that need to be terraced or stepped with similar land engineering works, using complex systems of dry stone walls.

The vine has a very ancient history in Aosta Valley (Di Corato, 1974). The discovery of tartaric acid in the Saint-Martin-de-Corléans archaeological site in Aosta most likely suggests the presence of the plant in pre-Roman times (Vola, 2010). The presence of vineyards destined to wine production is nevertheless generally attributed to the Roman age, based on renowned historical documents (De Tillier, 1737–1740, 1968; Berget, 1903; Zanotto, 1968) and to the discovery of amphorae, jugs and bottles dating back to the 1st century AC in environments presumably destined to wine-making. The quality of the wines produced in the area in the late-Middle Ages is proven by writings that speak of various crus highly appreciated by the local lords (Zanotto, 1968).

Despite events such as wars, changes in domination, epidemics and different plant health problems, for two millennia, vine cultivation remained well rooted in the Valley, reaching its maximum expansion around the mid-nineteenth century. The overall surface in this period is estimated to have been between 3,000 ha (Gatta, 1838) and 4,000 ha (Bich, 1896; Berget, 1903). From this moment onwards, the vineyards gradually began to recede, due to the appearance of three different pests coming from North America, completely unknown in Europe. Especially in the lower and middle Valley, two fungi that attack leaves and grapes (*Oidium tuckeri*-in 1854- and *Plasmopara viticola* (downy mildew) -in 1876-) appeared, followed by *Phylloxera vastatrix* (in 1896), an aphid that attacks the root system of the European vine destroying it. Because of

these diseases, in the following decades the surfaces decreased heavily, levelling at a few hundred. Only with the end of the second World War, vine cultivation slowly recovered, albeit at an alternate pace, first expanding and then contracting, eventually leading the Aosta Valley vineyard area to stabilise at little more than 460 hectares in 2010 (ISTAT, 2010).

It should be emphasised that during the nineteenth century the Aosta Valley rural landscape, more so than today, was strongly characterised by vineyards. Regarding this point, the impressions reported in the mid-nineteenth century in travel journals by English tourists interested in Mont Blanc ascents (Seymour, 1827; Trench, 1847; White, 1854; Malvezzi, 1982) are greatly significant. During their travels along the Valley they were fascinated by the vine landscape, noting the differences with the nearby French one. In fact, in that period the typical and dominant form of vine growing in Aosta Valley was the Pergola, a cultivation form that linked the terraced land arrangements to a horizontal and vertical structure of wood stakes, sometimes accompanied by stone columns. This particular growing system involves much longer shoots arranged along the horizontal wooden framework, often embedded in the dry stone wall, exactly modelling a pergola. The generated landscape was consequently completely different from other areas but of absolute value, thanks to the materials used and the geometries produced on the slopes involved.

About thirty years later, in 1887, Laurent Argentier (2004) during one of his lessons dedicated to the vine stated that in the Aosta Valley vineyards can only be grown in 27 municipalities¹ because of problems regarding grape maturation. Moreover, referring to the Pergola growing system, he highlighted that this cultivation form, in spite of having been widespread along the Valley in the past, had been gradually replaced because of the increasing price of wood used for piling.

Nowadays in the Aosta Valley the Pergola is no longer the dominant form of vine-growing, as it has been progressively replaced in most areas by the more modern Guyot rows. The reasons are linked to the extremely uncomfortable conditions in which grape-growers must operate, with regard to vineyard management as well as to wall maintenance and wooden stake replacement. Nevertheless, the Pergola remains the predominant vine-growing form in two distinct areas of the Valley, at the boundary with Piedmont and in the upper Valley at the foot of Mont Blanc. In these two areas, the Pergola is adopted in two different forms (high Pergola in the Lower Valley, and low

¹ Aoste, Arnad, Arvier, Aise, Aymavilles, Bard, Chambave, Champdepraz, Chatillon, Donnas, Hône, Issogne, La Salle, Montjovet, Morgex, Nus, Perloz, Pont Saint Martin, Quart, Saint Christophe, Saint Denis, Saint Pierre, Saint Vincent, Sarre-Chesallet, Verrayes Verrès, Vil-leneuve. The vineyards were also cultivated in Challant Saint Victor, Pontey, Fenis, Saint Marcel, Issogne, Pollein, Charvensod, Gressan, Jovençon, Introd and Saint Nicolas, but were not so important mainly because of the difficulty of the grapes to reach ripeness.

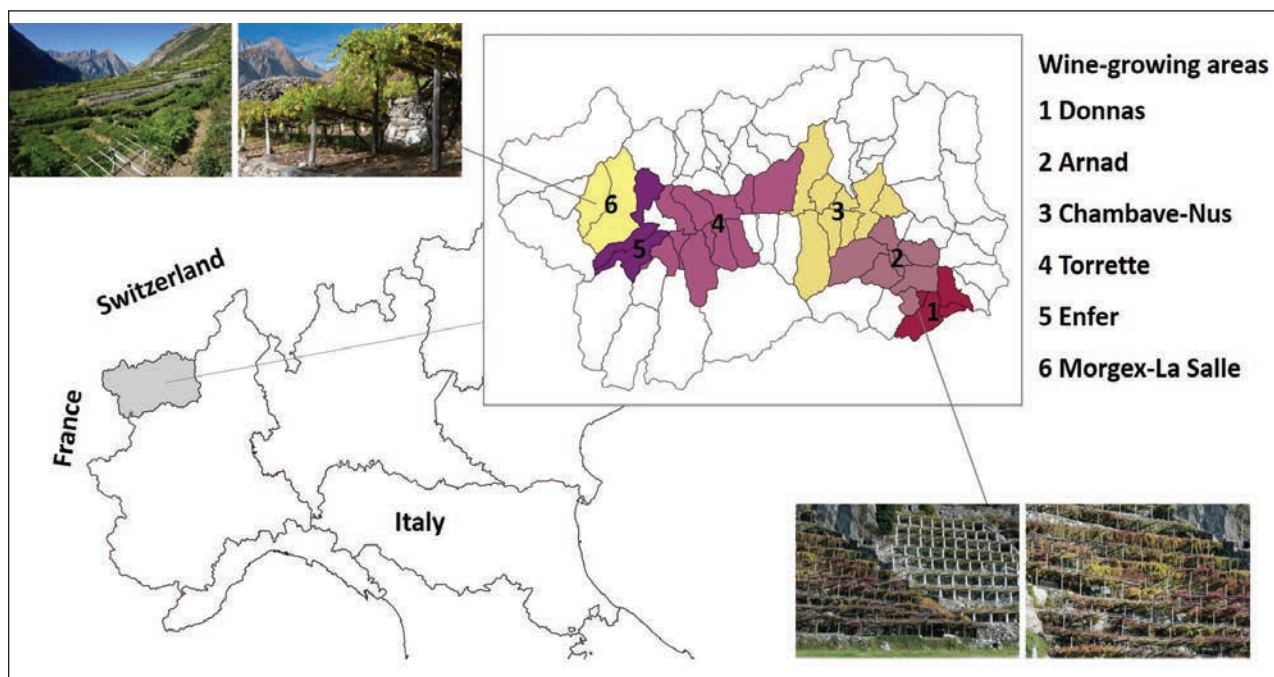


Figure 1: Vineyard areas in Aosta Valley.

Pergola in the Higher Valley) that respond to different needs of adjustment to extreme growth environments.

It is not easy to find bibliographic sources about the Pergola, intended as a form of wine-growing, mainly because the subject, which has important implications at the agronomic, landscape and socio-economic levels, is often included in larger subjects and treated in the different national languages. The same term »Pergola« is an Italian word of Latin derivation that mostly finds completely different corresponding terms in other languages. The discussion of its diffusion worldwide could constitute an interesting research topic to be developed with an interdisciplinary approach. However, there is evidence that outside Aosta Valley, the Pergola training system is widespread, in Italy and abroad. It is predominantly used in vine cultivation but also for other crops like kiwifruit vines (Xiloyannis *et al.*, 2000). It is particularly suitable for fertile soils with good water availability. It includes higher or lower shapes, making use of different materials (wooden or concrete stakes, monolithic stones, metal frames, steel wires). Regarding the shape adopted in the vine cultivation, it can be simple (particularly suitable for hilly or mountain areas) or double (most commons in the plains). Other possible distinctions may concern the type of pruning and the tilt of the »roof«, as in the Pergola »Trentina« (with the shoots developing along an upwards sloped roof) (Bertamini *et al.*, 2000), »Veronese« and »Romagnola« (with a horizontal roof) (Consorzio Tutela Vini Soave e Recioto di Soave, 2019).

With regard to Eastern Europe, the Pergola vine-growing system in the past was also widespread in the Karst areas. A non-recent source (Fazinić, 1961) indicated the Pergola wine-growing system as a useful solution in Croatia to have inter-rows between the vineyards with a minor use of soil, in response to criticism from economists who opposed the construction of large rows in the vineyards, which took away more land from cultivation, thus reducing the grape-growers income. More recent sources indicate the traditional use of the Pergola also in Slovenia. A tourist website advertising Štanjel as one of the oldest human settlements in the Karst region (<https://www.stanjel.eu/en/vine-and-wine>) indicates the traditional presence of the Pergola (Latnik) in Slovenia, giving a comprehensive description. Like in other geographical contexts, this cultivation system is being lost because of the hard work and high production costs implied (Svetina, 2010). However, it should be noted that many studies concerning the presence of grapevines in the Karst area deal with the topic of terraced landscapes related to its cultivation (Lah & Ažman Momirski, 2018; Andlar *et al.*, 2018), rather than as forms of training used. The Pergola wine-growing system is also traditionally widespread in Albania (MAF&CP, 2007), and, with regard to non-European areas, in China (Li, 2001), India (FAO, 2000), and is widely used also in Brazil (Pereira *et al.*, 2007), particularly with the European vines traditionally adopting this growing system.

THE ALCOTRA VI.A. PROJECT - STRADA DEI VIGNETI ALPINI

The abandonment of the mountain vineyard has different causes: on the one hand the great difficulties that wine-growers have in maintaining vineyards on steep slopes, because of the total impossibility of mechanizing the cultivation; on the other hand, the high costs of the related management that limit the profitability for the farmers. These causes are further worsened in Aosta Valley, because farms are generally very small and because of the strong attractiveness of more profitable economic activities, such as the tertiary sector and tourism.

The European Project INTERREG ALCOTRA VI.A. – STRADA DEI VIGNETI ALPINI – The Alpine vineyards road, launched in mid-2017 as part of the 2014–2020 programming, has among its main objectives the promotion of alpine viticulture to counter the abandonment observed in recent decades. To achieve this goal, different tools have been identified, involving several local stakeholders interested in vine cultivation at different levels:

- First of all, the grape-growers, who for a very long time have dealt with the vineyards management, are called to consider their activity not only in terms of production but also in terms of landscape;
- The local administrators, to contrast the abandonment of the rural areas, are called to identify subsidies and indirect measures enhancing the quality of the local wines and the territorial organization (road networks, tourist and food and wine accommodation) to which they are linked;
- The tour operators are called to promote the area's characteristic features, not only from a naturalistic and landscape point of view, but also concerning local food production;
- The tourists and all the Valley inhabitants are called upon to recognise and to safeguard the cultural and identity values related to the vine.

The project has therefore been developed from different stances and with the support of various stakeholders, ranging from local administrations and municipalities, to tourism bodies, to research institutions, to single and associated grape-growers in three different cross-border regions: Aosta Valley, Piedmont and Savoy. The possible identification of a path to obtain a certification for the heroic vine landscape is another important objective of the project, aiming to maintain this landscape and to cope with the strong urban and industrial pressure to which these areas are often subjected. The goal is to promote the Alpine vineyards through tourism, thus increasing their visibility and usability, with a structured approach

that includes their eno-gastronomic, naturalistic and experiential dimensions, increasingly appreciated by national and international visitors to the Alps. The challenge is to develop a multi-target tourist offer not only by providing winter and summer tourist packages typical of the Alpine mountains, but also by capturing the attention of different segments, more interested in typical products, conviviality, landscapes, cultural values, historical heritage, biodiversity.

This work is part of the project that takes into account the productive dimension of the vine in the Valley. It develops different actions aimed at identifying the vine farms, the critical issues facing the grape-growers adopting the Pergola Valdostana system as opposed to the Guyot row, their sensitivity to the issue of the landscape produced by the vines grown in the Valley. The ultimate goal is to evaluate a possible public economic aid specifically targeted to those grape-growers who adopt the Pergola form, since nowadays it represents a historical testimony of the vineyards in the Aosta Valley.

METHODOLOGY

Vine-growing in the Aosta Valley covers a limited portion of the territory but has a high visibility, since it develops for about 90 km along the main road axes and the river – the Dora Baltea – that runs from the Higher to the Lower Valley (Figure 1). The vine areas are located both on the left and on the right riverbanks, affecting the valley floors and slopes and climbing up to over 1,000 m in the Morgex municipality. Despite different microclimates, the areas concerned are characterised by hot summers, low rainfall (especially in the middle-high Valley), constant ventilation and significant daily temperature excursions. To contrast the small size of the plots and the low yields, the planting density here is higher than in other Italian vineyards.

The vine-growing forms are not the same in the different areas. Particularly in the Lower Valley, on the border with Piedmont and in continuity with some neighbouring Piedmont municipalities, vines are grown with a high Pergola, where the horizontal wooden framework thanks to special joints between the stones, exploits the presence of the dry stone walls that were built over the centuries to make the slopes productive. In the middle Valley vineyards, they are mainly grown in rows, along terraces or steps artificially built to allow for greater mechanization or made following the land's natural conformation; the rows follow the slope of the land or lie along the contour lines. Finally, in the Higher Valley they are located partly along terraced slopes, partly across the valley floor; in this case the rows are often single because they were originally used to contain the cultivated plots.

The present work aims to characterize farms and viticulture landscapes in this non-homogeneous

Table 1: Data and information from 2010 Agricultural Census.

Data about the farmer	<i>Gender, age class, education, full-time/part-time operator</i>
Data about relatives working on the farm	<i>Number of relatives 28 to 40 working on the farm</i>
PC and internet use	<i>PC, internet, farm web site existence</i>
Farm/non-farm (production for self-consumption)	<i>Info about sales/self-consumption</i>
Organic farming	<i>Area of organic farming</i>
Sales channels for grapes	<i>Direct sales, sales to other farms, to wineries, to wholesalers, to cooperatives</i>
Sales channels for wine	<i>Direct sales, sales to other farms, to wineries, to wholesalers, to cooperatives</i>
Existence of dry stone walls	<i>Maintenance in the last 3 years, new creation in the last 3 years</i>
Active/passive subcontracting	<i>Working days in the year</i>
Utilization of RDP measures	<i>Setting up aid for young farmers, payments for areas facing natural constraints, agri-environment payments, aid for productive and non-productive investments, diversification into non-agricultural activities, encouragement of tourism activities</i>

territorial context, identifying actions that allow their conservation and recovery. From this perspective, an historical research was developed to verify the vineyard evolution in the Valley and the vine landscape modifications throughout history, highlighting the causes that led to the progressive abandonment of the Pergola Valdostana. The study used the literature available in the local Library System, especially by consulting the Fondo Valdostano. In addition, photographic research was carried out by consulting the archives at the media library of the Bureau Régional Ethnologie et Linguistique (BREL – Valle d'Aosta Regional Administration).

At the same time, distinct and relatively homogeneous wine-growing sub-areas were identified based on land layout, cultivated vine varieties, methods of land settling, vine cultivation forms (high Pergola/low Pergola/Guyot row).² Carried out in 34 municipalities³ corresponding to 1,293 farms and roughly 444 hectares of vineyards (ISTAT, 2010), this survey led us to identify six different grape-growing areas, corresponding to at least ³ distinct »landscape units«. These six groups of farms and surfaces represented the statistical base on which we extracted data and information from

the questionnaire administered during the last Agricultural Census, to verify the existence of common and distinctive traits in the different territories.

The information and data extracted concerned the operator and his/her relatives working on the farm, the degree of computerization, the farm's surface, the presence of dry stone walls and any organic agriculture, the production of grapes and/or wine and the sales channels used, the Rural Development Programme (RDP) measures used (Table 1).

Two out of the six wine-growing areas identified (Donnas and Morgex-La Salle) were therefore chosen to conduct a further in-depth analysis with local grape-growers on the problems related to vine cultivation adopting the Pergola system, which is almost exclusively concentrated there. Taking advantage of two cooperative wineries operating in these areas⁴ and by submitting a very detailed questionnaire (Table 2), a technical-economic survey was conducted with some cooperatives members who can be considered as privileged witnesses of an extremely fragmented production situation.⁵ So far, the survey is only preliminary because of the quantity of technical and economic data collected. The questionnaire, with open and

² So called: Donnas; Arnad-Montjovet; Chambave-Nus; Torrette; Enfer; Morgex-La Salle. The representativeness is 94.2% in terms of farms and 95.9% in terms of surfaces, as compared to the regional total registered by ISTAT in 2010.

³ Aosta, Arnad, Arvier, Avise, Aymavilles, Bard, Challand-Saint-Victor, Chambave, Champdepraz, Charvensod, Châtillon, Donnas, Fenis, Gressan, Hône, Introd, Issogne, Jovençon, La Salle, Montjovet, Morgex, Nus, Perloz, Pont-Saint-Martin, Pontey, Quart, Saint-Christophe, Saint-Denis, Saint-Pierre, Saint-Vincent, Sarre, Verrayes, Verrès, Villeneuve.

⁴ Six cooperatives are active in the entire Aosta Valley.

⁵ In agreement with the respective Boards of Directors and given the complexity of the questionnaire, we decided to consider a low number of members with good technical skills.

Table 2: Data and information from the farm questionnaire.

General data	<i>Information about the operator and relatives, farm history</i>
Short vineyard description	<i>Main vineyards characteristics, information about terraced plots</i>
Farm Utilized Agricultural Area	<i>Surface distribution</i>
Grape variety subdivision	<i>Information about vine growing system</i>
Sets of problems	<i>Comparison between the different vine growing systems</i>
Vineyard investment	<i>Vineyard development and construction</i>
Crop cycle	<i>Cultivation operations</i>
Farm revenue	<i>Grape and/or wine sales</i>

closed questions, involved nine cooperative members and allowed us to collect data and useful information to compare the Pergola to the row cultivation system in terms of harvested production and costs incurred during planting and cultivation.

RESULTS

The data from the VI Agriculture Census (ISTAT, 2010) clearly show that in the Aosta Valley wine-growing farms have a very low average size (0.34 ha), since 87% are below 0.5 ha (Figure 2). The vine areas are distributed over a great number of classes, even though mainly concentrated (61.6%) in farms with less than 1 hectare of vineyards (Figure 3).

This viticulture has been directed towards the production of quality wines for various decades, mainly due to the presence of six, highly skilled, wine-making cooperatives.

The establishment in 1985 of the «Valle d'Aosta – Vallée d'Aoste DOC» designation of origin (now included in the corresponding Protected Designation of Origin, PDO), currently articulated in 31 sub-designations referring to different cultivation areas and/or specific vines, led the regional production to increasingly high levels of quality.

In 2010, 65% of the vineyard areas were involved in the production of PDO wines (Figure 4). In comparison with the total number of wine-growing farms, those entailing quality productions appear to have, on average, larger vineyards available (about 4,500 m² or 0.45 ha) (Bagnod *et al.*, 2015).

Within this regional framework, the analysis of data and Census information, in the six wine-growing subareas considered, highlighted important elements

not only about the farms' structure and organization, but also about their effects on the landscape.

The six wine-growing sub-areas differ in their vineyards' average size. In particular, Donnas, Morgex-La Salle, Arnad and Chambave-Nus include farms with an average vineyard area that is lower than the regional average (Table 3).

This explains why a non-negligible portion of farms produce primarily for their own household use, while the sales-oriented ones mainly deliver to local cooperatives for wine-making.⁶ As for non-sales-oriented farms, it should be emphasized that although they have no productive/commercial weight, they still play a very important role in maintaining the vineyard landscape. Altogether, they amount to 240 in the considered areas, with an average share of around 18-19%, except for the Arnad area where their share rises to about 32%.

The farms are mostly managed by male operators, with a female presence that still reaches about 1/3 at the regional level. The share is quite similar across the different areas, except for Enfer and Morgex-La Salle where it falls to 23 and 26% (Table 4).

The average age is high everywhere, ranging from a minimum age of 58.7 in Torrette, to a maximum of 62.0 in Donnas, with a general mean of 59.7. This indicator poses serious threats both for the future survival of farms, and for the maintenance of the vineyard landscape in the Region, as the generational turnover seems insufficient. In fact, the uptake of the RDP measure for the setting-up of young farmers until 2010 was scarce in these areas (15 cases out of 1293).⁷

Given the high average age, schooling generally does not go beyond primary education, with the exception of the Enfer and Torrette areas. Despite the

6 This data is also confirmed by AGEA (Personal Communication, 2014) relating to the declarations of grape harvest and wine production of the sales-oriented farms (Bagnod *et al.*, 2015), based on which in 2012 the members of local cooperatives were 415, against 303 individual producers.

7 Distributed among all the areas considered, except Enfer. For Donnas 1 only case, Morgex-La Salle 2 farms.

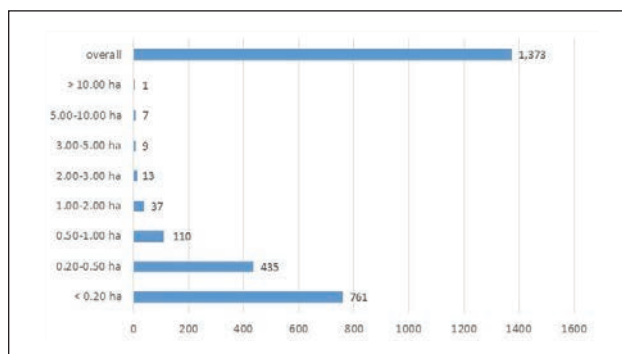


Figure 2: Grape-growers farms (n.) by vineyard size class (expressed in ha) (ISTAT, 2010).

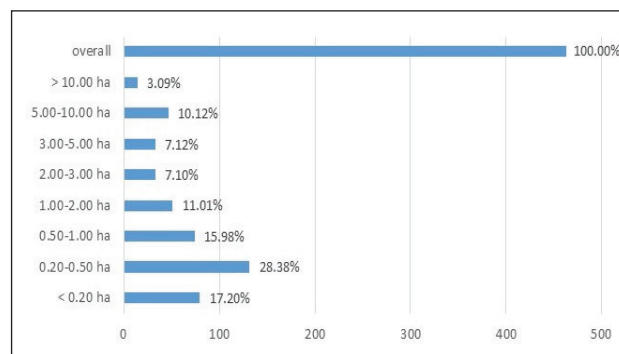


Figure 3: Vineyards surfaces (ha) by vineyard size class (expressed in ha) (ISTAT, 2010).

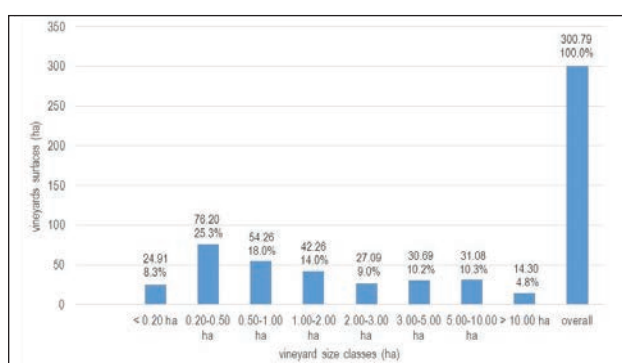


Figure 4: PDO areas (ha) by vineyards size class (ISTAT, 2010).

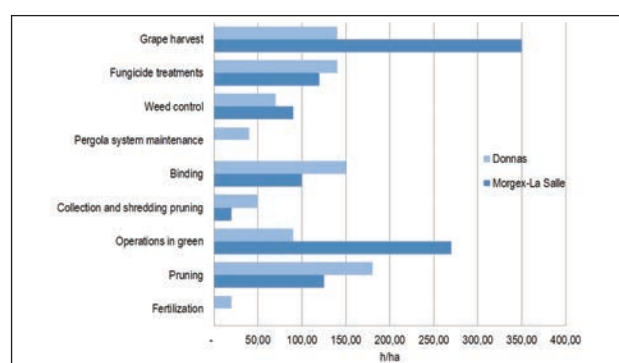


Figure 5: Average annual labour requirement, (h/ha) (Authors' elaboration).

fragmentation of production units, full-time operators (74%) prevail over part-time operators, apart from the Enfer area where they are equally distributed at 50%. These data can probably be related to a higher education level, which favours employment in other sectors. A further critical figure is that only a few farms (16.5% on average) have young (under 40) family members. Consequently, the use of PCs on the farm is not very widespread (7.6%) neither is the use of Internet, with or without a website (Table 5).

Some final data concern the recent (since the 2010 Census) maintenance work and new construction of dry-stone walls, an important element in the Aosta Valley landscape. The maintenance concerned almost 26% of the farms considered, particularly in the Enfer areas (71%), Arnad (38%) and Donnas (28%). The lower share in the Donnas area is probably due to the smaller size of the vineyards. Small grape-growers are not particularly interested in applying for subsidies for dry stone wall construction or maintenance, because of the heavy bureaucratic burden of these procedures.

Despite the small farm size, the use of passive sub-contracting is not very widespread (8%), also because many of the operations in the vineyard are carried out by hand due to the prevailing configuration of the plots and their limited accessibility (Table 6).

The technical-economic survey based on the Donnas and Morgex-La Salle viticulture areas, the typical Pergola Valdostana areas, confirms the Census data.⁸ The average size of the vineyards is small, although above the regional average, both in the Morgex-La Salle (0.48 ha) and the Donnas (0.91 ha) areas.

It should be noted that all results collected in this phase need to be interpreted with some caution, since, due to the need to collect reliable technical and economic data, the sample was chosen among operators with good technical skills.

According to the Census data, these two areas specialise in quality wines: 100% of the vine area in the Morgex-La Salle and 97% in Donnas are for PDO wines.

The whole vineyard area in Morgex-La Salle is cultivated using the low Pergola Valdostana, of which a small part is on terracing (20%), while the remaining

⁸ It should be noted that all results collected in this phase are to be interpreted with some caution since, due to the need to collect reliable technical and economic data, the sample was chosen among operators with good technical skills.

Table 3: Farms, vine surfaces and self-consumption orientation in the six wine-growing areas identified (Authors' elaboration on ISTAT, 2010).

Wine-growing areas	Municipalities (n.)	Farms (n.)	Vineyard area (ha)	Average vineyard area (m ² /farm)	Overall farms share (%)	Overall area share (%)	Total self-consumption farms (n.)
Arnad	7	154	43.90	2,851	11.91	9.89	49
Chambave-Nus	8	322	81.13	2,520	24.90	18.28	55
Donnas	4	158	42.55	2,693	12.22	9.59	29
Enfer	2	35	12.43	3,551	2.71	2.80	8
Morgex-La Salle	2	106	29.51	2,784	8.20	6.65	8
Torrette	11	518	234.40	4,525	40.06	52.80	91
Total	34	1,293	443.92	3,433	100.00	100.00	240

Table 4: Demographic data on the operator (Authors' elaboration on ISTAT, 2010).

Wine-growing areas	Male operators	Female operators	Average age	Prevailing operator's education	Full time operators	Part time operators
Arnad	105	49	60.1	Elementary school	121	32
Chambave-Nus	213	109	59.6	Elementary school	243	79
Donnas	107	51	62.0	Elementary school	118	39
Enfer	27	8	60.1	Junior high school	17	17
Morgex-La Salle	78	28	61.2	Elementary school	80	25
Torrette	350	168	58.7	Junior high school	373	141
Total	880	413	59.7	Elementary school	952	333

part is located on the Valley bottom. By contrast, in the Donnas area, characterised by very steep slopes, 74% of the vineyards are on terracing and are cultivated with the high Pergola Valdostana. It should be noted that 80% of the operators interviewed in the Donnas area also use the Guyot growing system, but on a small part of their vineyards.

The steep slope, the high fragmentation and the small size of the plots - which implies a difficult access to the vineyards - lead to low levels of mechanization in both areas (100% of the responses in Donnas and 75% in Morgex-La Salle indicate a low level of mechanization).

Despite the cultivation difficulties, only a part of the wine-growers interviewed leaves some terraces uncultivated (25% in the case of Morgex-La Salle, 20% for Donnas). They did however express an interest in starting production again (100% in both areas).

Regarding the social aspects of the sample under investigation, the average age of the operators interviewed is 64.5 in Morgex-La Salle (above the regional average) and 50.8 in Donnas (below). The level of education, however, is medium-high in both areas, although these data are probably sample-specific.

With regard to the main crop operations, and especially to the average demand of annual labour - expressed in hours of work/hectare - harvest and green operations are more costly, both in absolute and relative terms, in the Morgex-La Salle area compared to Donnas (Figure 5). The harvest needs to be carried out working on ones knees or lying under the Pergola, due to its limited height, generally not exceeding 1.40 m, and this alone meant no less than 350 h/ha of work.

In the Donnas area the most expensive operation (both in absolute and relative terms, compared to Mor-

Table 5: Information on young family members working in the farm and on computerization (Authors' elaboration on ISTAT, 2010).

Wine-growing areas	Relatives 28 to 40 working on the farm (n.)	Farms interested (%)	Farms with a PC (n.)	Farms using the Internet (n.)	Farms with a website (n.)
Arnad	25	16.2	6	3	2
Chambave-Nus	53	16.5	19	6	5
Donnas	37	23.4	6	3	2
Enfer	6	17.1	3	1	2
Morgex-La Salle	12	11.3	11	5	7
Torrette	80	15.4	53	25	29
Total	213	16.5	98	43	47

Table 6: Farms (n.) with dry stone walls and use of passive sub-contracting (Authors' elaboration on ISTAT, 2010).

Wine-growing areas	Dry stone walls, maintenance last 3 years	Dry stone walls, new construction, last 3 years	Passive sub-contracting
Arnad	59	6	11
Chambave-Nus	74	11	37
Donnas	44	9	5
Enfer	25	1	1
Morgex-La Salle	22	3	0
Torrette	108	30	48
Total	332	60	102

gex-La Salle) is winter pruning (on average 180 h/ha) followed by binding (rigorously carried out by using willow) and harvesting, as well as maintenance work on the walls and wooden stakes, which are critical for continuity in the farm activity.

The average annual labour requirement was therefore estimated at around 1100 hours/ha in the Morgex-La Salle area and 880 hours/ha⁹ in the Donnas area, consistent with the high labour demand (1000 h/ha) of the vineyards cultivated on slopes in South Tyrol observed by Zelger (1989).

To better understand the Census data analysed, as well as those collected during the preliminary technico-economic survey, some of the vineyards cultivated

with a high and low Pergola were directly visited. The inspections confirmed the above, especially the high fragmentation of the plots, the slope steepness (especially in the Donnas area), the very difficult access for the operators, and consequently the almost impossible mechanization of most of the areas involved. Furthermore, in some vineyards, particularly in the Donnas area, some operators had to find ways for channelling and storing rainwater. If not managed, rainwater can be a danger for the stability of walls and slopes, but on the other hand, it is needed for treatments, since no municipal water network is available for this purpose.

To sum up, while on the one hand some factors suggest the risk of a difficult future for these vineyards, on

⁹ Further surveys on a larger group of local wine-growers, carried out in 2019, highlighted that this value, although high, is however to be considered underestimated.



Figure 6: *High Pergola training system in Donnas area (Source: IAR, Aosta).*



Figure 7: *Detail of the terraces in Donnas area (Source: IAR, Aosta).*



Figure 8: *Vineyards in the Enfer area (Source: IAR, Aosta).*



Figure 9: *Low Pergola training system in Morgex area (Source: Bruno Jannon).*

the other hand some favourable elements are to be noted. They are, for example: the positive characterization of the landscape conferred by the vineyards cultivated with Pergola, the operators' active role in stabilizing the slopes, and the role played by the Pergola vineyards in protecting both the local and the downstream environment, also thanks to the heritage of knowledge transmitted from father to son.

DISCUSSION

The high land fragmentation we can observe in Aosta Valley is certainly one of the causes responsible for the decrease in agricultural activities and the ageing among agricultural farmers, especially wine-growers. A similar situation can be easily found in many other Alpine regions, such as, for instance, in Slovenian mountain areas, characterised by very small farms and by a progressive ageing of rural populations (Bojnec & Latruffe, 2009; Pažek *et al.*, 2012; Borec & Prišenk, 2013).

The fragmentation of the farms, the objective difficulties in mechanizing the cultivation operations, the high average age and the very slow generational change are the main factors that led to the progressive reduction of the vineyard areas that since the 1980s has affected the whole Region (Barrel, 2001; Bagnod *et al.*, 2015). On the other hand, the existence of typical growing systems -such as the high and low Pergola Valdostana- is a historical heritage from the past that contributes to give the concerned territories a strong connotation and an identity, both of which should be absolutely preserved.

The data from the preliminary farm survey highlighted the high number of working hours especially needed for the cultivation of the vineyard, not only because of the practices made difficult by the peculiar form of the cultivation system, but also because of the high land fragmentation and the maintenance needed for the supporting structures (walls, replacement of wooden stakes and stone supports when present).

Interventions aimed at:

- supporting the generational turnover and the small-scale mechanization in the wine-growing sector;
- integrating the other components connected to wine economy, such as food and wine tourism;
- enhancing and better promoting the local wine production;
- safeguarding and promoting the Alpine vineyard landscape;
- preserving the strong identity connotation of the territory connected to the traditional Pergola Valdostana system;
- are fundamental to keep the wine sector alive and sustainable over time, in terms of economy, landscape and environment.

Therefore, different interventions should be planned appropriately and must be shared among all stakeholders involved in the supply chain. They must be coordinated to safeguard the different positive effects of vine cultivation in the Aosta Valley.

Although mainly represented by PDO wines, the Aosta Valley wine sector cannot reward the environmental and landscape benefit produced by wine-growers through a price premium, consequently it seems important to reward these positive externalities in two ways.

First, it is possible to envisage specific forms of income support to maintain the small and very small farms (mostly part-time) that are still producing and that largely contribute to the maintenance of the territory and of the landscape through the management of the Alpine vineyards. In this perspective, financial assistance deriving from specific measures to aid heroic viticulture would be desirable and justifiable. For instance, the national law 238/2016 (the new Testo Unico della Vite e del Vino), in article 7 considers the protection of heroic vineyards, although, so far, the decrees necessary for the provision of possible dedicated funds are yet to be issued. Alternatively, support could be given within the regional RDP- for example through a »landscape award«. In this way, the further environmental/landscape benefits produced by these farms would be rewarded, in addition to the already existing subsidies for the maintenance and the rebuilding of dry-stone walls.

Second, it becomes more and more relevant to implement a series of common and differentiated promotional strategies aiming at communicating to wine consumers, tour operators, restaurateurs, tourists and to the valley inhabitants themselves, that Aosta Valley wines contribute, with their presence on the market and with prices necessarily higher than those found in other neighbouring areas, to the maintenance of cultural models and uses that are unique and unrepeatable in other territorial contexts.

CONCLUSIONS

In Aosta Valley the value of wine is not merely economic because it also conveys the history, culture and identity of the local population. Nevertheless, the analysis of the statistical data, together with the survey carried out, highlighted many elements of fragility that characterize grape and wine production in Aosta Valley. At the same time, it showed that wine production and the related employment helps in creating a strong cultural and landscape identity in the Valley.

Tourism strategies taken into consideration by the ALCOTRA Project specifically aim to accomplish these objectives, by involving restaurateurs, tour operators, tourists and inhabitants in various activities. The overall output should be the proposal of a diversified



Figure 10: Stone ladder between vineyard terraces in Morgex area (Source: IAR, Aosta).

tourism, alternative to the one now prevailing in the Valley. It will be implemented through the creation of a thematic itinerary of rediscovery, conceived as a »Cross-Country Road of Alpine Vineyards«. It will call for the rediscovery of the wine heritage, of the vineyards and of the tourism, landscape, cultural/historical points of interest that characterize the ALCOTRA vineyard area (»slow« enjoyment routes, e-bikes, guided vineyard tours, museums, wine bars, documentation centres, castles, organisation of cultural events, training, promotion and awareness raising events, etc.). It will be combined with cross-border programming aimed at developing the perception of the whole ALCOTRA area as a »single destination«, also through specifically designed apps.

Another possible result that could be obtained from the historical and the socio-economic analysis is the evaluation of the possibility of a certification of the landscape created by the Alpine vineyards. This is an ambitious goal, which might find its highest level in the recognition as a UNESCO site, but that in the specific case of the Aosta Valley vineyards might not necessarily be achieved in this form. In fact, varied and hierarchical levels of landscape certification are contemplated at the national and international level. This project, through the set of activities planned, aims to assess the feasibility of this long path, in the firm belief that the certification of the vineyard landscape of the Alps can be an important tool to support the survival of heroic viticulture in mountain areas.

PERGOLA VALDOSTANA IN HEROJSKO VINOGRADNIŠTVO V DOLINI AOSTE (ITALIJA): ŠTUDIJA PRIMERA O TRADICIONALNEM SISTEMU GOJENJA VINSKE TRTE

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POVZETEK

Vinogradništvo v dolini Aosta je zgoščeno vzdolž njenih pobočij in morenskih gričev ter tako značilno zaznamuje pokrajino doline do več kot 1.000 metrov nadmorske višine. Interregov projekt ALCOTRA (»VI.A. STRADA DEI VIGNETI ALPINI«) je namenjen izmenjavi metod in dobrih praks v regijah Piemonta, Aoste in Savoje za ohranitev značilnosti alpskih vinorodnih krajin. Raziskave v okviru projekta so obravnavale predvsem dve območji (vinograde območij Morgex-La Salle in Donnas), pri čemer so bile izdelane ocene relativnih povprečnih stroškov saditve in gojenja vinske trte v skladu s tradicionalnimi oblikami (nizke in visoke) tehnike Pergole Valdostane, ki se razlikujejo od klasičnega špalirja zaradi zelo posebnih podpornih konstrukcij, ki so postavljene na majhnih parcelah terasastih zemljišč. Prvi rezultati raziskave poudarjajo visok delež človeške delovne sile zaradi gradnje in vzdrževanja te tehnike v okviru skupnih stroškov pridelave grozdja. Tehnika Pergola Valdostana se namreč uporablja na območju, za katerega je značilna velika razdrobljenost zemljišč s povprečno površino vinogradov celo pod 2.000 m² in z zelo nizko stopnjo mehanizacije. Zato je nujno, da lokalne uprave izvajajo raznolike in celostne ukrepe za zaščito teh podeželskih območij, pri čemer naj zagotavljajo predvsem gospodarsko podporo majhnim pridelovalcem oziroma mikro kmetijam, katerih lastniki se postopoma starajo. Lokalne uprave naj oblikujejo tudi vsestranski in celovit projekt za turistično vrednotenje herojskega vinogradništva v dolini Aoste.

Ključne besede: alpski vinogradi, varovanje teras, krepitev vogradništva, projekt ALCOTRA

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POSKUS REKONSTRUKCIJE »CIBORIJA SVETEGA NAZARIJA« V SREDNJEVEŠKI STOLNICI MARIJINEGA VNEBOVZETJA V KOPRU

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IZVLEČEK

Članek odpira obsežno diskusijo o obstoju ciborija v srednjeveški stolnici Marijinega vnebovzetja v Kopru in osvetljuje nova dognanja v prid tej tezi. Obstoj ciborija so zagovarjali že Antonio Alisi (1932) in Wolfgang Wolters (1976), vendar so v zadnjih letih med raziskovalci prevladale domneve, da fragmenti arhivoltov, ki jih hrani Pokrajinski muzej v Kopru niso bili del ciborija, temveč drugega spomenika. Z analizo materialnih ostankov in naslonom na arhivske vire, ki jih je leta 2007 objavila Helena Seražin, smo prispevali obsežno argumentacijo, ki z zavračanjem drugih teorij skuša neovrgljivo utemeljiti obstoj ciborija beneškega tipa v srednjeveški koprski stolnici. Predstava, da je pozlačen gotski kamniti baldahin stal nad oltarjem svetega Nazarija v koprski stolnici, je večinski strokovni in laični javnosti tuja, zato smo na podlagi primerjav s ciborijema v Poreču in Zadru ponudili tudi idejno grafično rekonstrukcijo spomenika.

Ključne besede: Stolnica Marijinega vnebovzetja v Kopru, gotski ciborij, beneška gotika, koprška škofija, škof Lodovico (Alvise) Morosini (1364–1390), Andriolo de Sanctis (Andriolo de Santi), beneška kiparska delavnica »sledilcev mojstra 'Enrica'«

AN ATTEMPT OF RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CIBORIUM OF SAINT NAZARIUS IN THE MIEVEAL CATHEDRAL OF THE ASSUMPTION IN KOPER

ABSTRACT

The article opens an extensive discussion on the existence of a ciborium in the medieval Cathedral of the Assumption in Koper, and sheds light on new findings in favour of this thesis. The existence of the ciborium has already been advocated by Antonio Alisi (1932) and Wolfgang Wolters (1976). In recent years scholars assumed that fragments of the arches, kept by the Koper Regional Museum, were rather part of another monument. By analysing material remains and relying on archival sources published by Helena Seražin in 2007, we contributed extensive argumentation, which, by rejecting other theories, wishes to testify the existence of the Venetian-type ciborium in the medieval Koper cathedral. The idea that a gilded gothic stone canopy stood over the main altar of the Cathedral of Koper is foreign to the majority of professional and lay public, therefore we offered a conceptual graphic reconstruction of the monument on the basis of comparisons with the ciborium in Poreč and Zadar.

Keywords: Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Koper, Gothic ciborium, Venetian Gothic, Koper bishopric, bishop Lodovico (Alvise) Morosini (1364–1390), Andriolo de Sanctis (Andriolo de Santi), Venetian stonemasons »followers of 'Enrico'«

Obstoj koprškega ciborija ostaja kontroverzna tema. Njegovo prisotnost v srednjeveški katedrali so postulirali avtorji kot so Antonio Alisi (1932), Wolfgang Wolters (1976), Igor Fisković (1977), Gabriella Serdi (1988), Maria Walcher (1998) in Helena Seražin (2007). Medtem, ko so Edvilijo Gardina (2000, 2019), Alessandro Quinzi (2006) in eminentni medievalist Guido Tigler (2012) zanikali obstoj ciborija in njegove domnevne ostanke (fragmente arhivoltov in fiale) pripisali drugim objektom (loži pred fasado koprške stolnice, portalom stolnice, korni pregraji in štirim neodvisnim visečim nagrobnikom) in tako dosegli, da se zdi predstava o koprskem ciboriju presežena. Omenjena naziranja smo podrobno analizirali in poskušali ovreči.

Moja hipoteza je, da arhivski viri (zapis neznanega kronista iz sredine 18. stoletja), ki jih je leta 2007 objavila Helena Seražin in so bili raziskovalcem dotlej neznani, pričajo o odstranitvi gotskega ciborija, ki je sledila radikalni barokizaciji koprške stolnice, kakor je pravilno ugotovila omenjena avtorica. Fokus njene raziskave je bil opus baročnega arhitekta Giorgia Massarija (1687–1766), zato je pomenljivo razkritje omenila zgolj v opombi (Seražin, 2007, 146, op. 801) in mu odtlej nihče ni posvetil večje pozornosti. Žal se nam med ohranjenim gradivom ni posrečilo izslediti pertinentnih marmornih stebrov omenjene strukture, ki so najverjetneje bili prodani kmalu po demontaži. Prvič objavljamo fotografijo segmenta loka nekdanjega ciborija z dobro ohranjeno pozlato, ki je bil najden leta 2007 med deli ob prenovi Foresterije in se nahaja v depojih Pokrajinskega muzeja v Kopru. Poskušali smo določiti najverjetnejši čas nastanka ciborija in njegovega naročnika ter ga primerjati s sorodnimi objekti na jadranski obali, zaradi česar je pričujoči članek najboljše študija o obravnavanem spomeniku v zadnjem času. Na podlagi stilnih sorodnosti z ohranjenimi srednjeveškimi ciboriji beneškega tipa smo prvič ponudili tudi hipotetično grafično rekonstrukcijo omenjene strukture.

Nadejamo se, da se bo odslej tudi v poljudnoznanstveni literaturi in v zavesti krajanov utrdila predstava o ciboriju, ki je kronal oltar stolnice s patronovim sarkofagom in bil pomemben element lokalne identitete. Z upanjem, da bi Koprčani in Slovenci kot narod bolj srčno za svojega sprejeli koprškega zavetnika svetega Nazarija (ob pričakovanju praznovanja 1500 obletnice omembe koprške škofije leta 524), pospremljamo sledeči sežetek dognanj, ne z željo po senzacionalnih

odzivih, temveč kot pričevanje o evropsko primerljivi umetnostni in kulturni dediščini našega mesta, na katero smo lahko kot skrbni dediči upravičeno ponosni.

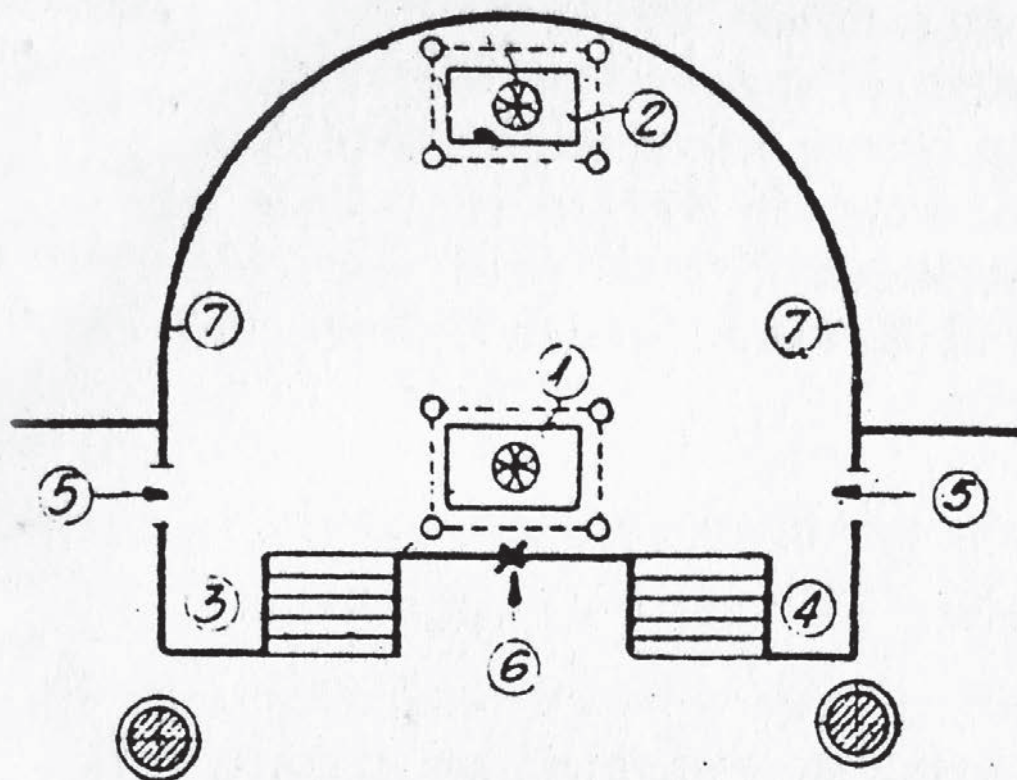
Kamniti baldahin je bil razpet nad oltarjem, posvečenim svetemu Nazariju v središču prezbiterija (nad omenjenim oltarjem je stal sarkofag svetega Nazarija, ki je sprva zavzemal položaj »ancone« ali oltarne table (Alisi, 1932, 29). Medtem, ko je bil glavni oltar, posvečen Marijinemu vnebovzetju, prislonjen ob steno romanske apside (Alisi, 1932, 25).

Omenjena stopnjevana struktura oltarja, sarkofaga in baldahina je kompozicijsko kompleksna, zaradi česar nezaupanje nekaterih raziskovalcev do te hipoteze ni povsem neosnovano.¹ Predvidevamo, da je *Serenissimi* predan škof Lodovico Morosini (1364–1390) zaslužen za predelavo kora romanske bazilike Marijinega vnebovzetja v Kopru. Z emulacijo tipologije beneškega ciborija po zgledu bazilike svetega Marka je želel simbolno zapečatiti hegemonijo Dominante in »venecijanizirati« uporni Koper, ki se je leta 1348 v oboroženi vstaji dvignil zoper tuje gospodarje. Za razliko od Poreča in Zadra je Koper obliko beneškega ciborija zvesto posnemal tudi v arhitekturni plastiki s figurami štirih evangelistov.

Trije pisci iz 17. in 18. stoletja omenjajo spomenik v koprski stolnici, ki se zdi najbolj podoben prav ciboriju: prvi med njimi je koprski škof Francesco Zeno (1623–1680), drugi je škof Paolo Naldini (1632–1713), ki nam je zapustil temeljno delo *Cerkveni krajepis* ali *Corografia ecclesiastica*, tretji pa anonimni kronist iz sredine 18. stoletja. Vsi trije pisci so pri opisu izbrali besedo »tribuna« in ne »ciborij«. V besedilih sočasnih italijanskih baročnih avtorjev se enakovredno pojavljata oba termina, ki ohranjata specifičen pomen in se med seboj razlikujeta (torej nista rabljena kot sopomenki).² Terminološko nejasnost, ki so jo zagrešili omenjeni poročevalci, morda lahko pripišemo dejstvu, da je koprski ciborij stal nad kripto (torej nad »tribuno«) in je bil morda pogovorno izenačen s »tribuno«. Druga verjetnejša razlaga je, da je bil pomensko odprt izraz »tribuna« (ki lahko označuje raznotere strukture s stebri v notranjosti cerkve npr. povišan prezbiterij ali pevski kor), v beneškem kulturnem prostoru rabljen tudi kot nadomestni izraz za »baldahin«. Beseda ciborij v italijanščini označuje tudi tabernakelj na glavnem oltarju. Tudi iz tega razloga so se omenjeni pisci verjetno odločili za rabo besede »tribuna«, da bralci »baldahina« ne bi zamenjali s »tabernakljem«.

1 F. Semi je zapisal, da ne gre verjeti v obstoj baldahina nad oltarjem, saj podatek nima zgodovinske podlage. Dokumenti izpričujejo, da je bil leta 1643 nad Nazarijevim nagrobnikom postavljen »altare di tavole«. Zaradi česar zaključuje: »če bi obstajal ciborij, ne vem, če bi dovoljeval postavitev lesenega oltarja nad sarkofagom, glede na njegove domnevne skromne razsežnosti«. Naldinijev opis »tribune«, okrašene s pozlačenim listovjem, kvečjemu povezuje z dekoracijami, ki jih je leta 1579 izdelal Cristoforo Gusich (Semi, 1934, 24).

2 »El'altar grande è rivolto verso la Tribuna, con Ciborio, e colonne di marmo, [...]« (Descrizione di Roma Moderna, 1727, 630). »In questa Tribuna, il cui pavimento è tutto di bel mosaico, v'era già il ciborio di marmo [...]« In še: »L'altare [...] mostra esser lo stesso, che stava sotto il Ciborio, è isolato, ma in fondo della Tribuna« (L'istoria della chiesa, 1716, 87).



*Presbiterio del Duomo
avanti il 1713*

- 1. Altare di San Nazario
- 2. Altare della B.V. Assunta
- 3-4. Amboni
- 5. Accessi alla Cripta
- 6. Altare del Beato Elio (nella Cripta)
- 7. Stalli per il Capitolo
(1 & 2 con ciborio)

(Dis. Cesare Alisi)

Slika 1: Prezbiterij koprške stolnice Marijinega vnebovzetja pred baročno prenovo (Alisi, 1932, 25).



Slika 2: Ciborij v baziliki svetega Marka iz 13. stoletja. Vrhnji del ciborija krasijo vogalni kipi štirih evangelistov s knjigami in figura Kristusa v središču (Wikimedia Commons).

Apostolski vizitator Agostino Valier je leta 1579 sumarično popisal vse oltarje v stolnici, vendar ciborija ne omenja (Lavrič, 1986, 61–63). V članku se opiram na neobjavljene zapise vizitacij koprškega škofa Francesca Zena, ki je med dvajsetletnim škofovanjem petkrat popisal inventar cerkva v koprski škofiji (omenjene dokumente hrani Archivio Storico Diocesano v Trstu). Zeno je v prvem in drugem vizitacijskem poročilu stolnice Marijinega vnebovzetja, ki sta nastala med letoma 1660–1662 in leta 1664, kar trikrat omenil »tribuno« oziroma »capello« s štirimi stebri iz marmorja, pod katero je bil (na petih stopnicah) postavljen sarkofag svetega Nazarija.

Et apperta l'Arca del Santo Nazario Protet.re et Vescovo di questa Città, la quale è situata nella

- 3 Sorodna je tudi navedba »Dill'Altare, Posto nella capella fatta a colone in cornu Euangelij m. stretta, et angusta« (BST, AVCp, 1660–1664, fol. 5), ki pa se verjetno nanaša na nek drugi stranski oltar s stebri (ozek in utesnjen, postavljen v levo stransko ladjo ali »cornù Euangelij«). Specifično besedno zvezo »in cornù Euangelij« je potrebno razumeti v kontekstu tradicionalnega poimenovanja dveh stranskih ladij bazilike, poimenovanih po dveh prižnicah (ambonih), s katerih so med mašo brali evangelije in pisma apostolov. Zapis »in cornù Euangelij« se nanaša na levo stran bazilikalne ladje (če gledamo iz glavnega vhoda proti prezbiteriju), medtem ko je bila desna stran poimenovana »in cornù Epistola«. Za pomoč pri razbiranju Zenovega rokopisa in terminološka pojasnila se zahvaljujem Mojci Marjani Kovač iz Piranskega Zavoda za varstvo kulturne dediščine.



Slika 3: Ciborij v Evfrazijevi baziliki v Poreču iz leta 1277 (Wikimedia Commons).

capella o tribuna posta nel mezo dilla Chiesa« (BST, AVCp, 1660–1664, fol. 5 r).

Il quale è sotto una tribuna, o capella sostenuta da quatro colonne di marmo (BST, AVCp, 1660–1664, fol. 7).

Arca di S. Nazario quale è posta s^a [abreviacija za sopra] cinque scalini di marmo sotto la tribuna [nečitljivo, morda antica ?] di quattro colonne (BST, AVCp, 1660–1664, fol. 269).³

Tudi erudit Paolo Naldini je v delu *Corografia ecclesiastica* leta 1700 ciborij poimenoval z neprimernim izrazom »maestosa Tribuna, di pietre, di fogliami, ed oro

vagamente adorna» (Naldini, 1700, 49–50). Omenjeni »terminološki zdrs« ali nejasnost je preučevalcem stavbne zgodovine koprskе stolnice povzročil nemalo preglavic.

Na stebre ciborija se domnevno nanaša tudi zapis v Kapiteljskem arhivu v Kopru, ki ga je objavila Helena Seražin (Seražin, 2007, 146).⁴ Štirje stebri so bili v drugi polovici 18. stoletja dokumentirani v koprski nadškofiji (»nell'ingresso del Arcivescovato«) in tudi ti so bili (podobno kot nekateri stebri in kapiteli glavne cerkvene ladje) naprodaj. Da bi jim določil gmotno vrednost, jih je ocenil specialist za oltarje (»altarista«),⁵ neki profesor Giuseppe de Pauli: »per simili al Professore Altarista Giuseppe de Pauli par sua Perizia in Filza 15. Gen.o. decorso delle 4 Collone esistenti nell'ingresso del Vescovato di ragion della Chiesa, e ricercate in vendita« (KAK [1787–1807], f. 21, 14. 3. 1804). Iz istih listin izvemo, da so dvanajst stebrov in šest kapitelov iz glavne ladje porušene bazilike prodali klarisam (Seražin, 2007, 140; KAK [1680–1741]).⁶ Tudi Tržaška Semeniška knjižnica hrani dokument kronista, ki je v času rušitve stare bazilike ob gradnji baročne stolnice (po letu 1740) popisal stebre s kapiteli domnevnega gotskega ciborija: »Colonne dell'antica Tribuna di S. Nazario della Catted.le« (Seražin, 2007, 146, opomba 801; BST, ADC, b. 271/2, f. 45).⁷ Omenjeni so štirje stebri s kapiteli (označenimi s tremi ščitki), ki so se nahajali na dvorišču škofijske palače in so jih nameravali prodati: »Che in uno de Capitelli delle Colonne dell'antica Tribuna di S. Nazario della Catted.le, che sono ancora nel Cortile del Vesc.to ui sono scolpite tre Arme piccole; quella di Mezzo rappresenta lo stemma di Mons.e. Loredano Vesc.o di Capod.a. nell'una da un lato ui è una Scala, nell'altra dell'altro lato una Croce« (BST, ADC, b. 271/2, f. 45). Zapis se verjetno nanaša na stebre ciborija z grbovnimi znamenji na kapitelih (grb družine Loredan s šestimi cvetovi, emblem lestve ali stopnic »scala«, ki morda sovpada z grbom plemiške hiše Gradenigo in križ – verjetno v funkciji krščanskega simbola in ne družinskega grba), ki so bili prodani skupaj s stebri glavne ladje in se niso ohranili. Na podlagi tega dokumenta, v katerem je anonimni pisec na enem izmed kapitelov prepoznal grb škofa Loredana, je H. Seražin sklepala, da je ciborij nastal v času delovanja omenjenega škofa, med leti 1390–1411 (Seražin, 2007, 146, op. 801). Ta okoliščina pa ne sovpada z datacijo podločij z reliefnimi upodobitvami svetnikov in prerokov, vzidanih v vzhodno



Slika 4: Ciborij v cerkvi svete Anastazije v Zadru iz leta 1322 (Foto: Jure Vuga).

steno lapidarija Pokrajinskega muzeja v Kopru, ki so, kot bomo kasneje obsežneje utemeljili, nastali do leta 1377, ko je bil ponovno posvečen glavni oltar.

Navedbo kronista, da je grb na enem izmed kapitelov pripadal škofu Giovanniju Loredanu (1390–1411), bi morda lahko upravičili s predpostavko, da je dal škof Loredan zamenjati enega izmed poškodovanih kapitelov že obstoječega ciborija ali dal preklesati starejši grb.⁸ Dva grba koprskih podestatov (Loredan in Gradenigo), ki sta v sredini 14. stoletja načelovala Kopru (pogojno)

⁴ Helena Seražin ta podatek povezuje z gornjim delom fasade koprskе stolnice oziroma na novo vzidanimi renesančnimi pilastri s kapiteli, za katere domneva, da so jih morda prinesli iz škofijske palače.

⁵ Zadolžitve »altarista« se pojavljajo tudi na drugih mestih v zapisih kapiteljskega arhiva, na primer leta 1806: »21 Xmbre all'Altarista a conto giornate della demolizione degli altari di S.Croce, e S.Rocco, e trasporto di quest'ultimo« (Cherini, 1994, 30).

⁶ V dokumentih o izgradnji baročne stolnice je tudi zapis, da so 26. 8. 1738 klarisam prodali 12 stebrov in šest kapitelov stare bazilike.

⁷ Dokument lahko glede na vsebino datiramo po letu 1740.

⁸ Tudi kapitele Lože v Kopru so morali večkrat popravljati in zamenjati, saj nekateri gotski kapiteli niso prenesli visoke obremenitve ob izgradnji prvega nadstropja v 17. stoletju. Opustošenje mesta leta 1380, ko so Genovežani vdrli v stolnico in jo izropali, bi lahko botrovalo takšnemu ukrepu.



Slika 5: Obstoječe stanje fragmentov dveh izmed štirih lokov nekdanjega ciborija, vzdanih v steno muzejskega lapidarija (Foto: Jure Vuga).

sovpadata z opisom grbovnih znamenj na kapitelih.⁹ Gedeone Pusterla je v delu *I Rettori di Egida Giustinopoli Capo d'Istria* iz leta 1891 zbral popoln seznam podestatov in kapitanov, iz katerega je razvidno, da je kmalu po zadušitvi vstaje upornih Koprčanov omenjeno funkcijo prevzel Benečan Marino Morosini (na oblasti v letih 1349–1350). Morosinija je nasledil Nicolo Loredan (1350–1351), leto za tem (1352) pa se je na čelo

mestne uprave povzpel Giovanni Gradenigo (imenovan Nasone), ki je kasneje postal beneški dož (Radossi, 2003, 298). Grb, ki ga omenja kronist, bi lahko pripadal podestatu Nicoloju Loredanu (1350–1351), ki je dal umestiti sarkofag svetega Nazarija v prezbitერი stolnice in morda že načrtoval postavitev ciborija s štirimi sočasno importiranimi marmornimi stebri.¹⁰ Francesco Zeno je nedvoumno zapisal, da so bili stebri »tribune« iz

9 Grb, ki ga je v 18. stoletju na kapitelu prepoznal očividec in ga pripisal škofu Loredanu, nemara kvečjemu sovpada s podestatom Nicolojem Loredanom (1350–1351). Pisec omenja tudi grb s stopnicami, ki bi lahko ustrezale grbu podestata Giovannija Gradeniga (1352), v katerem stopnice »gradini« zavzemajo funkcijo »govorečega grba«, ki namiguje na družinski priimek. Znamenje križa je morda potrebno razumeti kot krščanski simbol, saj med podestati v drugi polovici 14. stoletja ni zaslediti ustreznih grbovnih znamenj. Omenjeni kronist je zapisal, da se na kapitelih nahajajo trije ščitki »tre Arme piccole«. Sredinski grb naj bi pripadal koprskemu škofu Loredanu (»quella di Mezzo rappresenta lo stemma di Mons.e. Loredano Vesc.o di Capod.a«). Pisec ni poimenoval patricijskih družin, katerima pripadata druga dva manjša grba ali ščitka, zaznamovana s podobo stopnic ali lestve (»una Scala«) in križa (»una Croce«), ki sta postavljena »vsak na svoji strani«, morda torej na dveh ločenih kapitelih (»nell'una da un lato... e nell'altra dell'altro lato«). Med grbovnimi znamenji podestatov, ki so se zvrstili v drugi polovici 14. stoletja, ni najti sorodnosti z grboma »stopnišča« ali »lestve« in »križa«. V tem času so prevzeli dolžnosti in časti podestata Marin Venier 1364, Pantaleone Barbo in Nicolò Zeno 1365, Marco Quirini 1366, Zuan Morosini 1374, Andrea Erizzo 1375, Pietro da Canal 1376, Francesco Loredan 1377, Nicolò da Spilimbergo 1380 (Pusterla, 1891, 10).

10 Na ozki kamniti plošči, ki je zagazdena med sarkofagom svetega Nazarija in steno, ob katero je ta prislonjen, sta še danes vidna grba Morosinijev in Loredanov. Večina poznavalcev privzema, da grba pripadata škofoma Alviseju Morosiniju (1364–1390) in Giovanniju Loredanu (1390–1411), ki je dal obnoviti stolnico po opustošenju s strani Genovežanov. Giovanni Radossi ugotavlja, da omenjena grba nimata tipičnih škofovskih konotacij, zaradi česar ni mogoče povsem zavrniti možnosti, da sta pripadala dvema sočasnim podestatoma Marinu Morosiniju (imenovanemu el Bazedà, podestatu med leti 1349–1350) in Nicoloju Loredanu (1350–1351) (Radossi, 2003, 298).

marmorja. Po analogiji s stebri ciborijev v Zadru (višina približno 290 cm) in Poreču (višina približno 268 cm) lahko ocenimo, da so bili nekaj manj kot tri metre visoki in so bili po vsej verjetnosti prodani (skupaj s kapiteli), tako kot stebri iz glavne ladje, in se niso ohranili.¹¹ Zdi se manj verjetno, da so bili stebri in kapiteli ciborija izvedeni dobri dve desetletji pred arhivolti ciborija (z reliefi, datiranimi v sedemdeseta leta 14. stoletja), vendar te možnosti ni mogoče povsem izključiti.

Podobno kot v uvodu omenjeni avtorji bom tudi sam zagovarjal domnevo, da so bila štiri podločja, ki jih hrani lapidarij Pokrajinskega muzeja v Kopru, in štiri fiale v baldahinskih nišah nad polstebri na fasadi koprške stolnice nekoč del oboka in kiparskega okrasa nekdanjega gotskega oltarnega baldahina.

Ostaja uganka, kako so mogli odlomki v podločjih tako dolgo preživeti zunaj izvirnega konteksta. V muzej so prišli iz ankarenskega »capitella« ali »znamenja« (Gardina, 2000, 184). E. Gardina mi je pisno posredoval informacijo, da je inženir Petronio v 19. stoletju v svoji vili v Ankaranu zgradil kapelico z reliefi, ki jih je pripeljal iz dvorišča Pretorske palače. Razpon arhivolta lahko okvirno določimo na podlagi ostankov lokov v muzejskem lapidariju. Ker se nobeden izmed lokov ni ohranil v celoti, je ta podatek zgolj približen in znaša okoli tri metre, sam lok pa je bil okoli dva metra visok od nastavka kapitela do vrha arhivolta.

Ciborij, ki se je fragmentarno ohranil, lahko upravičeno imenujemo »ciborij svetega Nazarija«, saj podoba mestnega zavetnika zavzema privilegirano lego v enem od štirih sklepnikov ohranjenih podločij in je zelo verjetno korespondiral s sarkofagom svetega Nazarija, ki se je nahajal pod njim. Ikonografski program ciborija tako (deloma) učinkuje kot likovna razširitev figurativne naracije na patronovem sarkofagu. Podločja in fiale baldahina je verjetno izdelala delavnica, ki je delovala na širšem ozemlju Beneške republike v drugi polovici 14. stoletja, katere produkcija imitira dela Filippa Calendaria in Andriola de Sanctisa. Guido Tigler je beneške lapicide skušal identificirati z zasilnim imenom »seguaci di 'Enrico'«. Koprski ciborij je bil po vsej verjetnosti končan leta 1377 ob ponovni konsekraciji oltarja svetega Nazarija. Oltar v čast mestnega zavetnika in Svete trojice je bil po zadušitvi dveh oboroženih vstaj ponovno posvečen ob navzočnosti tržaškega, pičenskega in chioggianskega škofa 20. aprila 1377. To je bil čas škofovanja Lodovica (Alviseja) Morosinija (1364–1390)



Slika 6: Ena izmed štirih fial z evengalistom Luko in napisom S. LVCAS, ki je nekoč stala na vrhu ciborija koprške stolnice (Foto: Jure Vuga).

iz ugledne beneške družine Morosini (Radossi, 2003, 298).¹² Omenjena letnica lahko služi kot *terminus ante quem*, ko je ciborij že moral biti postavljen.¹³ Zadnje do-

11 Izmed kamnitih stebrov, ohranjenih v Kopru in njegovi okolici, nobeden docela ne ustreza parametrom višine (2,5 do 3 metre), forme in kvalitete kamna (marmor).

12 Morosinijev grb se nahaja na ozki marmorni plošči, ki zapolnjuje vrzel med hrbtno stranjo sarkofaga svetega Nazarija in steno ob katero je prislonjen. Lodovico (Alvise) Morosini je bil sprva župnik beneške cerkve San Pantaleone. V Koper je priplul iz Benetk in postal dušni pastir tukajšnje skupnosti v enem najbolj dramatičnih zgodovinskih trenutkov stopnjevanja napetosti med Benetkami in Genovo v chioggianski vojni med leti 1378–1381. Po zaključku škofovanja v Kopru leta 1390 je bil premeščen v grško Morejo, na škofovski sedež v Methoni (Modone).

13 Listina se (v prepisu) nahaja med zapuščino koprškega škofa Francesca Zena in je arhivirana v beneški knjižnici Marciani (pod signaturo It. VI, 171 b, 5981). V njej je opisan tudi položaj oltarja pod Nazarijevim sarkofagom: »Ad honorem sanctissimae Trinitatis ac gloriosi Episcopi et confessoris B Nazarii huius vobis Protectoris et Patroni sub cuius ...bul... [nečitljivo, verjetno tabula] hoc altare est herectum et ornatum caelestis gloriae« (Gardina, 2000, 113–114).



Slika 7: Kapitel s Petrom in Pavlom, 1369–1371, Bazilika v Ogleju, fotografija neznanega avtorja iz prve polovice 20. stoletja (hrani Civico Archivio Fotografico v Milanu, vir: <http://www.lombardiabeniculturali.it/fotografie/schede/IMM-3a010-0009475/>).



Slika 8: Obroba arhivolta s stiliziranimi vegetabilnimi motivi (Foto: Jure Vuga).

kumentirano naročilo delavnice, ki je po vsej verjetnosti izdelala tudi omenjeni koprski spomenik (in jo Tigler imenuje »nasledniki Enrica« ali »seguaci di 'Enrico'«), je nagrobnik doža Micheleja Morosinija (1308–1382) iz leta 1382 (Tigler, 2012, 117–118). Morda je prav koprski škof Alvisse Morosini priporočil omenjeno delavnico sorodniku Micheleju Morosiniju, ki je bil povišan v doža še le nekaj mesecev pred smrtjo.

Tako fiale na fasadi koprške stolnice kot odlomki iz podločij, vzdani v steno lapidarija, so, kakor je opozorila že Gabriella Serdi, sorodni nekaterim upodobitvam svetnikov na kapitelih oglejske bazilike, ki so jih najverjetneje izklesala beneška kamnoseška »bottega« okoli leta 1370.

Naličja lokov v koprskem lapidariju so obrobljena z zobčastim frizom, ki mu sledijo bogato oblikovano stilizirano listje in posamični cvetovi na visokih pecljih, skoraj identičnih tistim na kapitelih v oglejski baziliki, ki so nastali med leti 1369–1371. G. Serdi je dodatno legitimacijo za to povezavo utemeljila s sklicevanjem na dokumente o obnovitvenih delih patriarhalne bazilike v Ogleju, ki sta jo podprla patriarh Marquard in duhovnik (»*mansionario prè*«) Zanetto da Giustinopoli med leti 1269–1371 (Serdi, 1988, 123–133). Omenjeni duhovnik Zanetto iz Kopra

je po vsej verjetnosti s svojim posredovanjem zagotovil stik med beneško delavnico, ki je delovala v oglejski baziliki, in koprsko škofijo, kjer so ravno snovali načrte za izdelavo (ali nemara dokončanje) ciborija, ki je nadkrival oltar svetega Nazarija. Leta 1377 so verjetno nastali tudi fragmenti kiparskih del iz cerkve Santa Maria in Acumine, ki jih hrani Mestni muzej v Riminiju in jih Guido Tigler povezuje z isto delavnico, ki naj bi izdelala tudi kiparsko opremo lokov koprškega ciborija s podobami svetnikov in prerokov v podločjih. Močne stilistične povezave med sarkofagom svetega Nazarija in ostanki strukture, ki naj bi jo obdajala (ostanka balustrade v koprskem Pokrajinskem muzeju, podločja v lapidariju muzeja, štiri fiale na fasadi stolnice ter skulpture in reliefi, vzdani v severno steno stolnice), je Tigler pojasnil z domnevo, da so *lapicidae* podločij sprva sodelovali z umetnikom sarkofaga svetega Nazarija (ki ga povezuje z mojstrom Enricom, dokumentiranim v Benetkah). Enricovi sodelavci, ki so se kasneje osamosvojili, naj bi v Koper prišli iz Riminija (kjer se slogovno sorodna dela nahajajo v mestnem muzeju in izvirajo iz cerkve Santa Maria in Acumine), kot domneva omenjeni avtor »*preceduti dalla fama del loro maestro*«, ki je za koprsko stolnico že izdelal sarkofag mestnega zavetnika (Tigler, 2012, 107–118).¹⁴

Časovno je nastanek ciborija mogoče zamejiti v obdobje med uporom Koprčanov Serenissimi leta

¹⁴ Mojster Enrico, ki do zdaj ni imel pripisanih del, naj bi po Tiglerjevih ugotovitvah sodeloval s Filippom Calendariem na gradbišču Doževe palače in ga nasledil v vlogi glavnega izvajalca del kot »proto«. Podločja in fiale iz koprškega muzeja Tigler primerja s fragmenti kiparskih del iz cerkve Santa Maria in Acumine iz leta 1377, danes v Mestnem muzeju v Riminiju: figura blagoslavljaljočega Kristusa v tondu iz visečega nagrobnika je zelo podobna tondu z Veronikinim prtom, vzdanim na južni fasadi koprške stolnice; prav tako sorodni se zdita skulpturi iz skupine Oznanjenja v Riminiju, ki spominjata na koprške fiale. V prispevku iz leta 2000 Tigler ugotavlja, da je koprski sarkofag stilno soroden sarkofagu blaženega Odorica Pordenonskega, ki ga je po letu 1331 izdelal Filippo de Santi in se nahaja v cerkvi Santa Maria del Carmine v Vidmu. Potrjena je tudi podobnost z nagrobnikom blaženega Bertranda iz Vidma. Wolters je prvi opozoril na sorodnost figure na koprskem sarkofagu z upodobitvijo zaprepadenega Noetovega sina v prizoru Noetove pijanosti na vogalnem reliefu Doževe palače, ki je nastala med leti 1341–1355 (Tigler, 2012, 107–118; Tigler, 2000, 160–168).

1348 in uničujočo vojno z Genovo leta 1380. Če upoštevamo datacijo podločij v lapidariju in fial na fasadi stolnice (za katere domnevamo, da so del iste strukture), lahko sklepamo, da je bil končan v sedemdesetih letih 14. stoletja, kar pa ne izključuje možnosti, da so se dela na ciboriju pričela že prej. Izdelavo sarkofaga svetega Nazarija je beneški senat naročil okoli leta 1350 pri delavnici Filippa Calendaria in ga dal poslati v Koper kot spravno darilo, ki je naznanjalo obete ponovnega zbližanja med Dominanto in upornim mestom (Tigler, 2000, 160–168).¹⁵

Ohranjeni so natanko štirje sklepni kamni, štiri podločja in štiri fiale z evangelisti v vogalni niši ter napisom v gotski majuskulni pisavi (predvidenih za pogled iz dveh strani). Vsi prihajajo izpod dleta istih kamnosekov, zato lahko upravičeno domnevamo, da so nekoč tvorili en sam monumentalni spomenik. Na podločjih in pročelju zavetnikovega sarkofaga sta upodobljena (tudi) koprski zavetnik proto-škof Nazarij in sveti papež Aleksander. Aleksander I. je bil šesti rimski *Pontifex*, ki je umrl mučeniške smrti leta 115 po Kr. Njegovi posmrtni ostanki so v neznanem času prispeli v Koper in so shranjeni v leseni skrinjici v istem sarkofagu poleg relikvij svetega Nazarija. Na podlagi izpričanih simbolnih povezav z »arco« svetega Nazarija se zdi provenienca podločij iz koprške stolnice nesporna.¹⁶ Raziskovalci pa nikakor ne soglašajo, kakšna naj bi bila njihova prvotna namembnost.

Štiri ohranjene šilaste loke lahko hipotetično razporedimo na pet različnih načinov in posamezni avtorji so se izrekli v prid tej ali oni postavitvi. Možno jih je organizirati v obliki triločnega cerkvenega atrija ali lože, prislone ob fasado stolnice, z enim stranskim lokom, ki naj bi se odpiral proti mestni Loži; lahko so bili v funkciji gotskih arhivoltov štirih portalov stolnice; lahko so hipotetično stali štirje v ravni vrsti (v funkciji korne pregrade ali »tramezza«); lahko so tvorili obešene baldahine štirih samostojnih v stene vzdanih nagrobnikov; nenazadnje pa si jih lahko predstavljamo združene v pravokotno obočno shemo ciborija.

LOŽA PRED STOLNICO

Obstoj srednjeveške lope pred stolnico je dobro dokumentiran. Alisi je prvi objavil ohranjen dokument, ki ga je izdal mestni svet in v katerem je z dukalom 27. junija leta 1385 dož Antonio Venier priznal zahteve koprškega škofa in podestatu-kapitanu naročil naj uveljavi cerkvene pravice nad portikom, ki ga je medtem uzurpirala občina in dala v najem nekim trgovcem, ki so tam povzdignili lesene stojnice. Škof Lodovico Morosini (1364–1390) se je odločil razširiti cerkev in je iz Benetk poklical kamnoseke, ki so podrli star portik in ga obnovili z vključitvijo terena v cerkveni lasti (Alisi, 1932, 11).¹⁷ Nekoliko kasneje, leta 1435, v času škofa Francesca Biondija (1428–1448) je bil sprejet sklep o podaljšanju cerkve in deset let za tem (7. XI 1445) je bil v obnovljeni baziliki svečano posvečen glavni oltar. Po Dell Bellu je bila cerkev v tem času razširjena za približno dva metra proti severu in osem metrov proti zahodu (Del Bello, 1905, 251; Marković, 2000, 84). Atrij pred stolnico omenja tudi Naldini (Naldini, 1700, 19; Alisi, 1932, 13).¹⁸

Edvilijo Gardina je predpostavil, da ohranjena podločja izvirajo iz portika pred koprsko stolnico. Pročelje lože naj bi sestavljali trije loki, medtem ko naj bi se četrta arkada odpirala v smeri proti mestni Loži. Obstoječa fasada naj bi v svoji strukturi ohranjala spomin na prvotno ložo. Slepe arkade naj bi bile sprva odprte in so jih šele naknadno zazidali v času renesančne prezidave leta 1498 po naročilu škofa Giacoma Valaressa, katerega grb je vdolan v fasado. Obstoječi košarasti kapiteli s širokimi »jezičastimi« listi, značilnimi za izdelke beneške delavnice Bartolomea Bona, so sorodni stiliziranemu listju na grbu družine Verzi iz leta 1460, ki se nahaja v atriju Pokrajinskega muzeja (Gardina, 2000, 112–123).

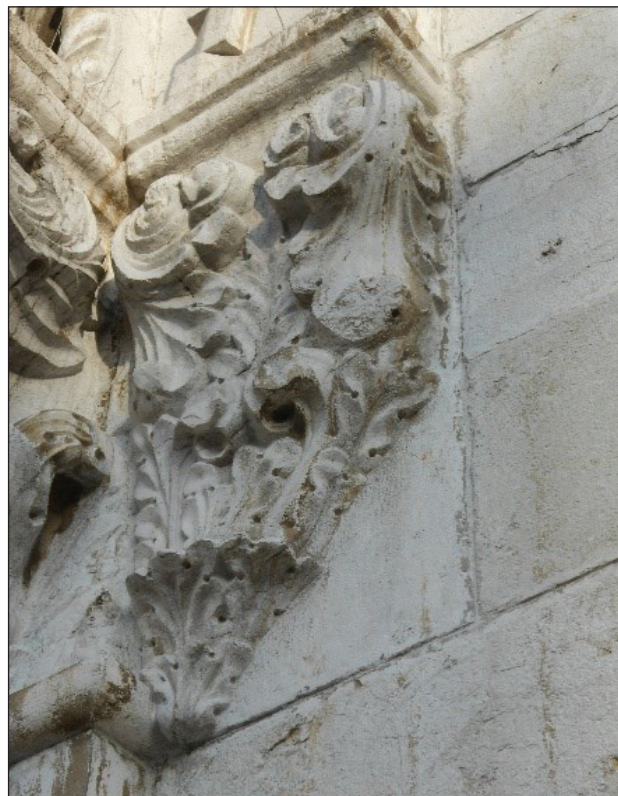
Na tem mestu opozarjamo na konstrukcijsko lastnost gotskega dela fasade koprške stolnice, ki jo je večina razlagalcev njene stavbne geneze spregledala: polkapiteli v stilu »gotico fiorito«, oziroma konzole na katere so opirajo pete lokov, zavzemajo polovico kamnitega bloka, ki je s preostalim delom gradnika spet s steno v interkolumniju. Klesanec s konzolnim polkapitelom se nadaljuje v steni

15 Škof v tem času je bil Francesco Querini (1349–1363), vendar grba družine Querini (opredeljenega na sledeči način: »D'oro, alla fascia d'azzurro, caricata di tre gigli del campo«) ni mogoče identificirati z zgoraj opisanimi grbovnimi znamenji.

16 Kost papeža in mučenca Aleksandra, so po obskurnih poteh v obskurnih časih – kot je za srednjeveške legende običajno – priromali v Justinopolis in bili skrbno shranjeni ob patronovih relikvijah. Poleg podobe papeža Aleksandra se v napisu imena pojavlja signatura »S.«, torej sveti, čeprav nam njegova svetniška dela niso bolje znana. Genovežani so s seboj odnesli relikvije obeh svetih mož, kar izpričuje korespondenca iz začetka 15. stoletja, preko katere si je takratni koprski škof Geremia Pola (1420–1424) prizadeval za vrnitev relikvij. Naslov listine, ki je zagotovila vračilo, je naslovljena *Restitutio Reliquiarum S. Nazarii Ep. Protectoris et S. Alexandri Pont. Per Archiepiscopum Januensem Pileum de Marinis anno 1422*. Koprski akademik Nicolò Manzuoli prvi poroča o prenosu relikvij mestnih zaščitnikov iz Genove v Koper (Gardina, 2000, 115).

17 Težko je oceniti, kakšna škoda je nastala med požigom Kopra leta 1380 in kaj vse je bilo takrat uničeno. Napadalcu so v naskoku na stolnico pred vhodnimi vrati zanetili ogenj, da bi vlomili vanjo, tedaj je pogorela loža pred cerkvijo. Navajam Naldinijev opis požara pred vhodom v stolnico: »Quindi incenerito l'Atrio del Duomo per facilitarne l'ingresso, indi rapirono il Sacro Corpo di Nazario, e tolto da altra Chiesa, anco quello del Santo Pontefice Alessandro« (Naldini, 1700, 49).

18 »A questa torre, che s'alzava in Isola (isolata), si concatenò molt'anni prima la chiesa con l'aggiunta fatale di tre archi per parte drizzati ai tempi di Francesco Biondi (1428 – 1448) nel sito medesimo dell'atrio antico, un secolo prima dall'armi Genovesi incenerito« (Naldini, 1700, 19).



Slika 9 in 10: Košarasta polkapitela z gotskim listjem, vklesana v isti kamniti blok, ki spaja nosilni steber in steno (Foto: Jure Vuga).

pod arkadami, iz česar sklepamo, da med loki in steno nikoli ni bilo prehoda. Harmonično oblikovan spodnji del pročelja je torej nastal v isti gradbeni fazi v času obnove katedrale, zaključene s posvetitvijo leta 1445, ali kakor je na podlagi oblikovanja listnatih kapitelov predlagal Predrag Marković, v začetku šestdesetih let 15. stoletja (Marković, 2000, 83–102).¹⁹

Na teorijo o zazidanem, nekoč obokanem atriju, je leta 2000 pristal tudi Guido Tigler. Z omenjeno prenovno fasade sta Gardina in Tigler povezala tudi fiale štirih evangelistov, ki naj bi nekoč estetsko povzdigovale (romansko) cerkveno pročelje, kot na primer gotski tabernaklji na zaključku fasade beneške cerkve San Aponal ali tisti na fasadi prvotne gotske stolnice v Mantovi (obe omenjeni fasadni zasnovi pa sta predvidevali pet simetrično postavljenih tabernakljev na zaključku fasade, in ne štirih).

ARHIVOLTI PORTALOV

Alessandro Quinzi je štiri loke pripisal trem portalom na pročelju stolnice in stranskemu portalu, ki je gledal na krstilnico. Za loke z reliefnimi upodobitvami svetnikov in prerokov je predlagal provenienco iz štirih portalov stare stolnice, pri čemer naj bi bila tri podločja vzdignana v pročelje, tisto z Janezom Krstnikom v sklepniku pa naj bi pripadalo portalu iz severne fasade, ki se odpira na krstilnico (Quinzi, 2006, 181–188). Tigler je njegovo tezo zavrnil s premislekom, da širina podločij ni kompatibilna s portali in da je prav tako malo verjetno naročilo štirih istih portalov (Tigler, 2012, 107–118). Ostanki podločij se zdijo preozki in gracilni, da bi mogli podpirati nosilno kamnito steno.²⁰ Helena Seražin se je odločno izrekla proti hipotezi, da je bila prednja fasada kadarkoli zasnovana s tremi vhodnimi vrati, saj notranja razporeditev ladij ozi-

¹⁹ Če bi konec 15. stoletja prišlo do prezidave lože pred cerkvijo, bi morali lapicide korenito poseči v strukturo domnevne lože in zamenjati vse košaraste kapitele, saj je iz obstoječega stanja razvidno, da so polkapiteli z gotskim listjem vklesani v isti kamniti blok, ki nosilni steber spaja s steno (stanje je dobro razvidno iz narisa pročelja in fotografije kapitela (Diocesis, 2000, 113, 123). V kolikor so nove gotske kapitele dodali šele po naročilu Valaressa, ni jasno, na kaj se je opiral obstoječi arhivolt (na neke starejše kapitele, ki so jih morali torej prav tako odstraniti, da so vstavili današnje košaraste polkapitele, ki so »zliti« s steno v interkolumniju?). Vtis harmonične zaokroženosti spodnjega dela fasade pa bi s stihijsko gradnjo in tolikšnimi prezidavami le težko dosegli.

²⁰ Lažja opečna gradnja se v Kopru redkeje pojavlja, predvsem v delu stavbne stene, ki stoji nad lesenimi konzolami ali barbakani. V dokumentih evidentirana srednjeveška loža ali atrij pred staro stolnico je morala imeti liho število interkolumnijev in verjetno leseno, na tramove oprto ostrešje. Če so stebre ali kamnite pilastre omenjene lože spenjali loki, so morali zagotavljati večjo nosilnost strešni konstrukciji, medtem ko se omenjena prefinjena kamnita podločja ne zdijo primerna za to namembnost.

roma členitev glavne ladje s stebri ni omogočala takšne razporeditve (prvi stebel v stolnici bi namreč prekrival stranski portal) (Seražin, 2007, 149).²¹

KORNA PREGRAJA

Uredniki *Dioecesis Justinopolitana* so se glede provenience podločij nagibali k tezi o zazidanem starem portiku ali atriju iz leta 1385 (*Dioecesis* 2000, 184).²² V prispevku iz leta 2012 se G. Tigler upravičeno sprašuje, ali je zapisani nameri res sledila gradnja, ki ni dokumentirana do začetka 15. stoletja. Enoten izvor ohranjenih premeščenih arhitekturnih členov (tako fial, podločij, kot tudi kipov, vzdanih v fasadni plašč) v istem članku povezuje z domnevno korno pregrado ali »tramezzom«, ki naj bi stal v glavni ladji stare bazilike (Tigler, 2012, 107–118). V beneškem prostoru so na vrhu stebrov korne pregrade navadno bili postavljeni kamniti arhitravi ali leseni tramovi (kakor je razvidno iz sorodnih ohranjenih struktur v baziliki svetega Marka in Santa Maria Assunta na Torcellu). Za postavitev korne pregrade bi kamnoseki potrebovali liho število gradbenih elementov. Manj verjetno se zdi, da se je izgubil en sklepnik in upravičeno lahko domnevamo, da omenjeni sestavni deli nikoli niso bili več kot štirje.

ŠTIRJE NEODVISNI NAGROBNIKI

Možna je tudi razporeditev lokov v štiri povsem ločene spomenike, na primer »viseče nagrobnike«, nadzidane s šilastoločno arkado. Edvilijo Gardina je v nedavno izdanem *Muzejskem vodniku* podal naziranje, da »gotški loki, vpeti v vzhodno steno lapidarija iz zadnjih desetletij 14. stoletja pripadajo t.i. »visečim nagrobnikom« iz samostanske cerkve Sv. Frančiška« (Gardina, 2019, 122). Ta rešitev se zdi manj spreje-

mljiva, saj so vsi reliefi nastali sočasno in so slogovno enotni. Rivalstvo med koprskimi patriciji ne bi dopuščalo, da se njihovi nagrobniki poenotijo v tolikšni meri, da med njimi ni opaznih razlik (kvečjemu imajo soroden ikonografski program). Naročilo omenjenih štirih lokov za namembnost »visečih nagrobnikov« bi torej prej impliciralo neke vrste razkošen družinski mavzolej (o katerem bi se gotovo ohranila pričevanja), kot pa štiri neodvisna in enakovredna naročila komitentov brez smisla za tradicionalno rodbinsko samoslavljenje (odsotnost slehernega grba!) in utišano težnjo po izražanju individualnosti.

CIBORIJ

V preteklosti zagovorniki predstave o gotškem ciboriju niso bili ne redki, ne negotovi in še zdaleč ne teoretsko nepodkovani; med njimi naj znova navedemo Antonia Alisija (1932) in Wolfganga Woltersa (1976), ki sta s ciborijem povezovala ostanke omenjenih reliefnih podločij. Tudi Igor Fisković (1977) je v oceni Woltersove knjige pristal na rekonstrukcijo baldahina in na zamisel o izvoru raznovrstnih odlomkov iz iste celote. V novejšem času pa so to možnost podprle tudi Gabriella Serdi (1988),²³ Maria Walcher (1998) in Helena Seražin (2007). Na podlagi arhivskega dokumenta, ki opisuje obstoj stebrov in kapitelov z znamenjem škofa Giovannija Loredana (1390–1411), je H. Seražin domneva, da je dal ciborij postaviti omenjeni koprski škof. S tem argumentom je izpodbijala Gardinovo predstavo, da naj bi kompozicija oltarja, nadkrita s »tribuno« imela renesančno podobo.²⁴

Ciborij v baziliki Svetega Marka je predvsem zavoljo simbolnega pomena dožve kapele in cerkve beneškega zavetnika kot konstitutivnega elementa manifestacije moči *Serenissime* zagotovil tipološki

21 Glede na neujemanje ladijskih osi z osmi stranskih dveh šilastih lokov fasade (načrt iz leta 1690) pa je tudi skoraj neverjetno, da bi bili vanju kdaj vzdani stranski portali cerkve (Seražin, 2007, 149).

22 Nemara gre omenjene loke – k temu se nagiba E. Gardina – poistovetiti s tremi zazidanimi loki stolničnega pročelja (četrti se je po vsej verjetnosti odpiral na levem boku, takoj za vogalom); ko so jih po letu 1423 zazidali, so zamenjali tudi kapitele z okrasnim listovjem v slogu Bartolomea Bona. (*Dioecesis*, 2000, 184).

23 Semeniška knjižnica v Trstu hrani načrt stolnice s konca 17. stoletja (BST, ADC, b.271/1). Podatek je prva objavila Gabriella Serdi (Serdi, 1988, 127–128). Ta načrt verjetno sovпада z načrtom za povečanje cerkve, naročenim leta 1690, ki je zabeležen v stolniški računski knjigi: »25. aprila tega leta je bilo nekemu protu Francescu iz Benetk za meritve, načrte in potne stroške izplačanih 121 lir« (Seražin, 2007, 135). Na tem načrtu je zarisano obstoječe stanje stare stolnice z dodanim načrtom novega baročnega kora, ki je viden spodaj v narisu in zgoraj v preseku. Novi načrt kora je predvideval tudi baročen baldahin nad oltarjem (po zgledu Berninijevega v Svetem Petru), kar nakazujejo štirje stebri, zarisani v sredini kora. Te stebre, kot je opozorila H. Seražin, ne smemo razumeti kot odslikavo starega obstoječega ciborija, saj so zarisane dimenzije prevelike, temveč kot predlog nove baročne strukture, ki pa nemara ohranja kontinuiteto s starim gotškim ciborijem.

24 Dekorativna obroba na zunanji strani gotških lokov (vzdanih v lapidariju muzeja), ki sestoji iz zobčatega friza in stiliziranega listja, ustreza citiranemu opisu. Veliko bolj verjetno je, da je bil pozlačen in polihromiran gotški ciborij (na segmentu gotškega loka, ki je bil najden med obnovo Foresterije leta 2007 je dobro ohranjena pozlata) kot pa renesančna edikula, ki je od konca 15. stoletja obdajala sliko *Sacra conversatio* Vittoreja Carpaccia in je verjetno bila postavljena ob oltar svetega Roka. Koprski škof Francesco Zeno je v svoji vizitaciji nedvoumno zapisal, da se je leta 1660–1662 slika Vittoreja Carpaccia nahajala na oltarju svetega Roka. Glede na to, da renesančna edikula delavnice Lombardo ne more biti istovetna z opisom gotškega ciborija nad oltarjem svetega Nazarija (tribune ali kapele s stebri iz marmorja), tudi ni mogoče domnevati, da je bila leta 1516 (ali kadar koli kasneje) Carpacciova slika postavljena nad omenjeni oltar. Tovrstne interpretacije, ki smo jih slišali na simpoziju o Carpacciu leta 2016 torej odstopajo od omenjenih dokumentarnih virov. O oltarju svetega Roka je Zeno zapisal: »L'altare di S. Rocco con la sua Pala di pittura antica di Carpaccio e le figure in mezzo dilla Ma. Vergine à man distra di S. Rocco di S. Giuseppe di S. Ger. Mo. (Girolamo) et à man sinistra di S. Sebast. no S. Nazario, S. Giorgio.« Archivio Storico Diocesano di Trieste, Archivio della Diocesi di Capodistria, b. 40, »Episcopi Francisci Zeno. Tomus Quintus. Visitationes Generales Prima & secunda Ab Anno 1660 Usque ad 1664. E n° : i. e. fol. 6.



Slika 11: Andriolo de Santi, Nagrobnik Jacopa II da Carrara s Petrarcovim epitaфом, Eremitani, Padova (Wikimedia Commons).



Slika 12: Andriolo de Santi, nagrobnik Ubertina da Carrara, Eremitani, Padova (Wikimedia Commons).

vzor za sorodne spomenike na območju Istre in Dalmacije. Kot je že bilo ugotovljeno, so naročniki, cerkveni dostojanstveniki in predstavniki beneške oblasti delovali kot promotor venecijanizacije novo osvojenih mest in njihovih katedral (Marinković & Marušić, 2016, 55). Emulacija ciborija svetega Marka v stolnicah v Kopru, Poreču in Zadru priča o intencah naročnikov po izražanju zaveznitva in politične pokornosti Dominanti.

Atiko baldahina je nekoč v nekaterih primerih dopolnjevala kiparska kompozicija Marije z angelom Oznanjenja (na primer v Zadru, Trogirju in v poznem quattrocentu tudi na ciboriju v korčulanski katedrali), medtem, ko je Koper ostal zvest beneškemu figuralnemu okrasu s skulpturami štirih evangelistov.²⁵ Po besedah S. Štefanca lahko »v Trogirju in drugje vidimo, da je bila v tem času upodobitev Oznanjenja, postavljena na vrh ciborija, del ikonografskega programa organizacije prezbiterja«. Tudi v Poreču je prizor Oznanjenja upodobljen v tehniki mozaika na pročelju ciborija v Evfrazijevi baziliki (Štefanac, 2012, 97–101, opomba 19). Poreški slikoviti baldahin, ki je nastal v času škofa Otona leta 1277, pod-

pirajo štirje stebri iz prokoneškega marmorja (Prelog, 1994). Ciborij v zadarski katedrali svete Anastazije (oziroma svete Stošije) kaže močan beneški vpliv in ga lahko datiramo v leto 1334. Arhitekturna zasnova temelji na ciboriju iz bazilike svetega Marka v Benetkah, vendar je predelan v gotskih formah. Izdelava je visoke kvalitete, posebej zanimivi so marmorni stebri, okrašeni z motivom geometrijskih vzorcev in kompozitni kapiteli antikizirajočih oblik. Tudi slednji ima zašiljene loke brez reliefnih polj. (Hilje, 2008, 188–191; glej Štefanac, 2012, 105, opomba 18). Zadarski muzej Stalna izložba crkvene umjetnosti v benediktinskem samostanu svete Marije hrani marmorno trecentistično Marijino figuro (iz prizora Oznanjenja) visoke kvalitete, ki je verjeno nastala sočasno ali kmalu po izoblikovanju omenjenega ciborija v stolnici Sv. Anastazije kot njegovo likovno in pomensko dopolnilo (Štefanac, 2012, 97–101).²⁶

Beneški ciborij je zaključen s skulpturami štirih evangelistov in Kristusovo figuro na prednji stranici. Enako namembnost so skoraj zanesljivo imele tudi fiale s štirimi evangelisti, danes vzdane na fasadi koprskih stolnice. Vogalna niša s figuro apostola in napis, ki se

²⁵ Oltarni baldahin v baziliki svetega Marka je sestavljen iz starejših alabastrnih stebrov (predlagane datacije nihajo med V.–VI. in XI.–XIII. stoletjem). Obokan je bil v prvi polovici 13. stoletja. Na stranici, ki gleda v smeri glavne ladje, se na vrhu beneškega baldahina nahaja Kristusov kip med skulpturama svetega Marka in svetega Janeza, na zadnji stranici pa sta še kipa svetega Mateja in apostola Luke iz 13. stoletja (Zuliani, 2015, 9–29).

²⁶ Štefanac je za Marijino figuro z antikizirajoče občutenim obličjem predlagal prepričljivo atribucijo mojstru Mauru, ki se je podpisal z dikcijo »Mavrus me fecit« na sorodno oblikovano Marijino skulpturo iz ciborija v Trogirju. Omenjena zadarska plastika je bila odkrita pod zvoni-kom stolnice in jo je skupaj z izgubljenim angelom mogoče povezati z obstoječim ciborijem iz leta 1334 (Štefanac, 2012, 97–101).



Slika 13: Relief s svetim Filipom (ohranjena pozlata), Pokrajinski muzej Koper (Foto: Jure Vuga).



Slika 14: Ostenje loka s pozlato, najdeno ob prenovi Foresterije leta 2007, depoji Pokrajinskega muzeja Koper (Foto: Edvilij Gardina).

vije prek dveh ploskev, privilegira vogalno postavitev z možnostjo pogleda iz dveh smeri, primerno pravokotnemu spomeniku kot je ciborij (in ne loži ali korni pregraji, pri kateri je predviden zgolj frontalen zorni kot). K isti monumentalni celoti verjetno lahko prištevamo tudi nekatere skulpture in reliefe, ki so bili vzdani v stene stolnice med baročno prenovo (Tigler, 2000, 179).²⁷ Med ohranjene ostanke ciborija morda lahko štejemo tudi tondo z Veronikinim prtom nad prvim portalom v južni steni stolnice, ki je delo iste delavnice. Guido Tigler je sorodno oblikovano Kristusovo glavo prepoznal v »cimasu« obošenega baldahina monumentalnega nagrobnika z blagoslavljajočim Odrešenikom iz Santa Maria in Acumine (Tigler, 2012, 115). Ekstrapolacija koprškega tonda iz cerkvene stene bi zmogla ponuditi nove uvide; morda bi se izkazalo, da je nekoč služil kot sklepni kamen, ki je spenjal obok v notranjosti ciborija.

Lahko domnevamo, da le-ta v večji meri ni bil poškodovan med napadom Genovežanov, saj ga omenjata škofa Francesco Zeno in Paolo Naldini. Fiale so

na sedanjo lokacijo po naši domnevi premestili v 18. stoletju ob demontaži kamnitega baldahina, ko je bil temeljito prezidan tudi gornji del fasade.²⁸ Omenjena ostenja lokov in tudi štiri fiale so zaznamovane z motivom školjčne. Omenjeni motiv, značilen za antično umetnost, v beneškem okolju zasledimo pri sarkofagih Ubertina in Jacopa II da Carrara, ki sta nastala v sredini 14. stoletja (prvi leta 1345, drugi pa leta 1351) in sta se nekoč nahajala v cerkvi svetega Avgušтина v Padovi, medtem ko sta danes vzdana v stene znotraj cerkve Eremitani v istem mestu.

Oba sarkofaga, postavljena na konzole in nadzidana z zašiljenim gotskim lokom z reliefi svetnikov, so izdelale maestranze Andriola de Sanctisa (Andriolo de Santi). Na sarkofagih obeh Carrarskih vojvod se pojavljajo školjčne niše, obrobljene z dvema tordiranima stebričema ob straneh (in vogalne niše na robovih sarkofaga), v podločju šilastega arhivolta pa kasetni motivi z vzorci rozet (po modelu antičnih stropnih kasetnih motivov), ki se izmenjujejo z reliefnimi figurami svetnikov s knjigami

²⁷ Bolj zagonetna ostaja umestitev reliefa z vstajenjskim Kristusom, ki je bil verjetno del drugega spomenika, morda nagrobnika, kot je v katalogu *Diocesis Justinopolitana* predlagal Guido Tigler. Med ohranjenimi fragmenti je moja pozornost pritegnila skulptura Marije zavetnice s plaščem, vzdane nad stranski portal na severni cerkveni fasadi. Marijina krona je zaključena s cvetnim motivom, ki je identičen cvetovom na kroni Marije-orante na enem izmed štirih sklepnikov omenjenih podločij. Ker je koprška stolnica posvečena Marijinemu vnebovzetju, morda ni neutemeljeno, da je bila figura Marije *Mater omnium* nekoč (po analogiji s figuro Kristusa na ciboriju v Benetkah) postavljena na vrh ciborija, v središnji legi med dvema fialama z apostoli. Možno je tudi, da je bilo to delo del drugega spomenika v stari stolnici, ki ga je izdelala ali dopolnila ista delavnica z uporabo sorodnih likovnih motivov. Marija zavetnica s plaščem je namreč v Benetkah pogosto povezana z bratovščino Misericordie.

²⁸ Malo verjetno se zdi, da bi fiale iz ciborija odstranili, ko je bil še v funkciji, zgolj zato, da bi zapolnili niše na fasadi stolnice. Morda so bile za niše na fasadi predvidene manjše plastike, ki niso bile izvedene.



Slika 15: Sklepnik s figuro Kristusa Pantokratorja, obdan z apostoli v školjčnih nišah in naličje loka s podobo golobice svetega Duha (Foto: Jure Vuga).



Slika 16: Sklepnik z upodobitvijo mestnega zavetnika z napisom SAN(c)TVS NAČARI(us) je bržkone spenjal lok, ki je gledal proti apsidi (Foto: Jure Vuga).

in starozaveznih prerokov s svitki in avreolami. Frontalna stranica loka je obrobljena z zobčastim frizom in stiliziranim listjem, kar sovпада s stanjem na obravnavanih lokih v koprskem lapidariju.

Koprski ciborij je v primerjavi s padovanskimi spomeniki verjetno nastal dve desetletji kasneje, okoli leta 1377, vendar ga z njimi, kakor je izpostavil že Tigler, povezujejo nekatere izrazite slogovne sorodnosti (Tigler, 2012, 115). Školjčne niše, obrobljene s tordiranimi stebriči, se na koprskem spomeniku opazimo na reliefih v podločjih in fialah. Motivi kaset z dekorativnimi rožami na podločjih našega baldahina, ki se izmenjujejo z doprsno upodobljenimi svetniki in preroki s knjigami in svitki, so podobni padovanskim zgledom. Sorodno je tudi naličje loka, zaznamovano z zobatim frizom in bogatimi vegetabilnimi elementi. Dekorativna obroba stiliziranega listja na zunanji strani lokov (ki obnavlja isti motiv na sarkofagu svetega Nazarija) povsem ustreza

že citiranemu Naldinijevemu opisu »*maestosa Tribuna, di pietre, di fogliami, ed oro vagamente adorna*« (Naldini, 1700, 50). Pozlata (zlato lističi na osnovi rdeče gline »*bolo rosso*« ali »*bolo armeno*«), ki jo omenja Naldini, se je ohranila na reliefu svetega Filipa, ki je na ogled v prvem nadstropju Pokrajinskega muzeja v Kopru.²⁹

V lapidariju Pokrajinskega muzeja v Kopru so prezentirani štirje loki, sestavljeni iz štirih ohranjenih sklepnikov in ostankov osmih segmentov kamnitih arkad z reliefnimi upodobitvami enajstih figur. V sklepnikih se pojavljajo figure Kristusa, Marije, Janeza Krstnika in svetega Nazarija.³⁰ Lok s figuro Kristusa v sklepniku obdajajo podobe apostolov v školjčnih nišah z napisi in brez kaset z rozetami, ki se na ostalih podločjih izmenjujejo s podobami³¹ Reliefne upodobitve apostolov izstopajo po večji globini reliefa in umetelno izoblikovanih nišah, v katere so »naseljeni«. Figura svetega Filipa v školjčni niši je bila gotovo del frontalnega niza.³²

²⁹ Relief s sv. Filipom, ki je pripadal istemu spomeniku in je razstavljen v prvem nadstropju Pokrajinskega muzeja v Kopru, je bil odkupljen v Antikvariatu Tartini v Piranu (mere: 445 x 270 x 195 mm). Za razliko od ostalih reliefov iz istega niza, vzdanih v steno lapidarija Pokrajinskega muzeja v Kopru, je ohranil izvorno pozlato. Leta 2007 sta umetnostna zgodovinarja Alessandro Quinzi in Edvilijo Gardina predstavila relief sv. Filipa na mednarodnem simpoziju »Le Arti in Istria« (22–23. marec 2007) na sedežu Fondazione Giorgio Cini v Benetkah. Pri obnovi Pretorske palače in Foresterije istega leta je na dan prišel segment loka, ki prav tako sodi v serijo obravnavanih podločij. Slučajni najditelj, ki je sodeloval pri izkopavanjih, je bil na sodišču obtožen kraje artefakta, za katerega je trdil, da ga je rešil iz kupa odpadnega gradbenega materiala. Po pričevanjih je inženir Petronio v 19. stoletju v svoji ankaranski vili zgradil kapelico z reliefi, ki jih je pripeljal iz dvorišča Pretorske palače. Poškodovani segment loka in relief s svetim Filipom sta oba ohranila sledove pozlate (nista bila izpostavljena vremenskim razmeram) in sta se sočasno pojavila leta 2007. Zato se zdi verjetno, da sta bila oba sekundarno vzdana (verjetno kot polnilo) v tlak ali stene objekta Foresterije v času barokizacije koprške stolnice v 18. stoletju. Objavljam povzetek poročila E. Gardine po ogledu najdenega segmenta loka: Delavnica Andriola de Sanctisa, del gotskega loka, istrski beli kamen (mere: 638(600) x 250(200) x 300 mm), pozlata, polihromacija, druga polovica 14. stoletja. Kamnoseška obdelava večjega fragmenta gotskega loka je identična ostankom lokov s preroki, ki so rekonstruirani v lapidariju Pokrajinskega muzeja Koper. Delo izhaja iz beneško-oglejske kamnoseške delavnice Andriola de Sanctisa. Fragment loka naj bi bil najden na deponiji gradbenega materiala na Serminu, ki se je odlagal ob rušenju objektov na vzhodnem delu Mestnega trga (Titov trg) ob gradnji Univerze na Primorskem. E. Gardini se zahvaljujem za fotografijo in posredovane informacije, ki jih na tem mestu prvič objavljamo (Poročilo E. Gardine, Policijska uprava Koper, Ukmarjev trg, 19. IX. 2007).

³⁰ V arhivolt, ki se je vzpenjala k sv. Nazariju, so bile bržkone podobe svetnikov, ki jih je častila koprška cerkev – med njimi Aleksandrova; v tisti z Marijo podobe cerkvenih očetov; v tisti z Janezom Krstnikom podobe prerokov; v arhivolt s Kristusom pa podobe apostolov (morda le najpomembnejših; Dioecesis, 2000, 184).

³¹ V vencu sarkofaga svetega Nazarija je upodobljen Kristus Pantokrator in figurice približno dvajsetih prerokov s praznimi svitki.

³² Alessandro Quinzi je opozoril, da imajo školjčne niše s figurami, ki so bile postavljene višje na loku, več prekatov: v niši za Sv. Petrom in Jakobom Velikim je dvanajst prekatov, za figuro Filipa jih je devet, Jakob Minor in Sv. Bartolomej pa sta opremljena z nišo s sedmimi prekati (Quinzi, 2006, 181–188).



Slika 17: *Figura svetega Hieronima in nad njim napis S. ALEXANDER v prvem loku neposredno ob muzejski stavbi (Foto: Jure Vuga).*

Bordura nad sklepnikom s Kristusom Pantokratorjem je zaznamovana z golobico svetega duha, kar nakazuje, da je to najprezentativnejši izmed štirih lokov, ki je stal nad oltarjem.

Iz glavne ladje so tako bila gledalcu vidna najkakovostnejše okrašena reliefna polja z apostoli, pod katerimi beremo imena: S. IACOBVS, S. PETRUS, S. IACOBUS (Minor), S. BARTOLOMEV(s).

Upodobitev Nazarija na sklepniku loka je bila verjetno postavljena v neposredno komunikacijo s svetnikovo monumentalno »arco«, ki je ležala pod njim. V arhivolti, ki se je vzpenjala k sklepniku s figuro patrona, so bile nanizane podobe svetnikov, ki jih je čistila koprška cerkev, kot je podoba škofa Aleksandra (s pripisom S. ALEXANDER) in svetega Hieronima (napis IERONIMVS). Prevajalec Septuaginte je tesno povezan z lokalno krščansko zgodovino zavoljo domicila v domnevno



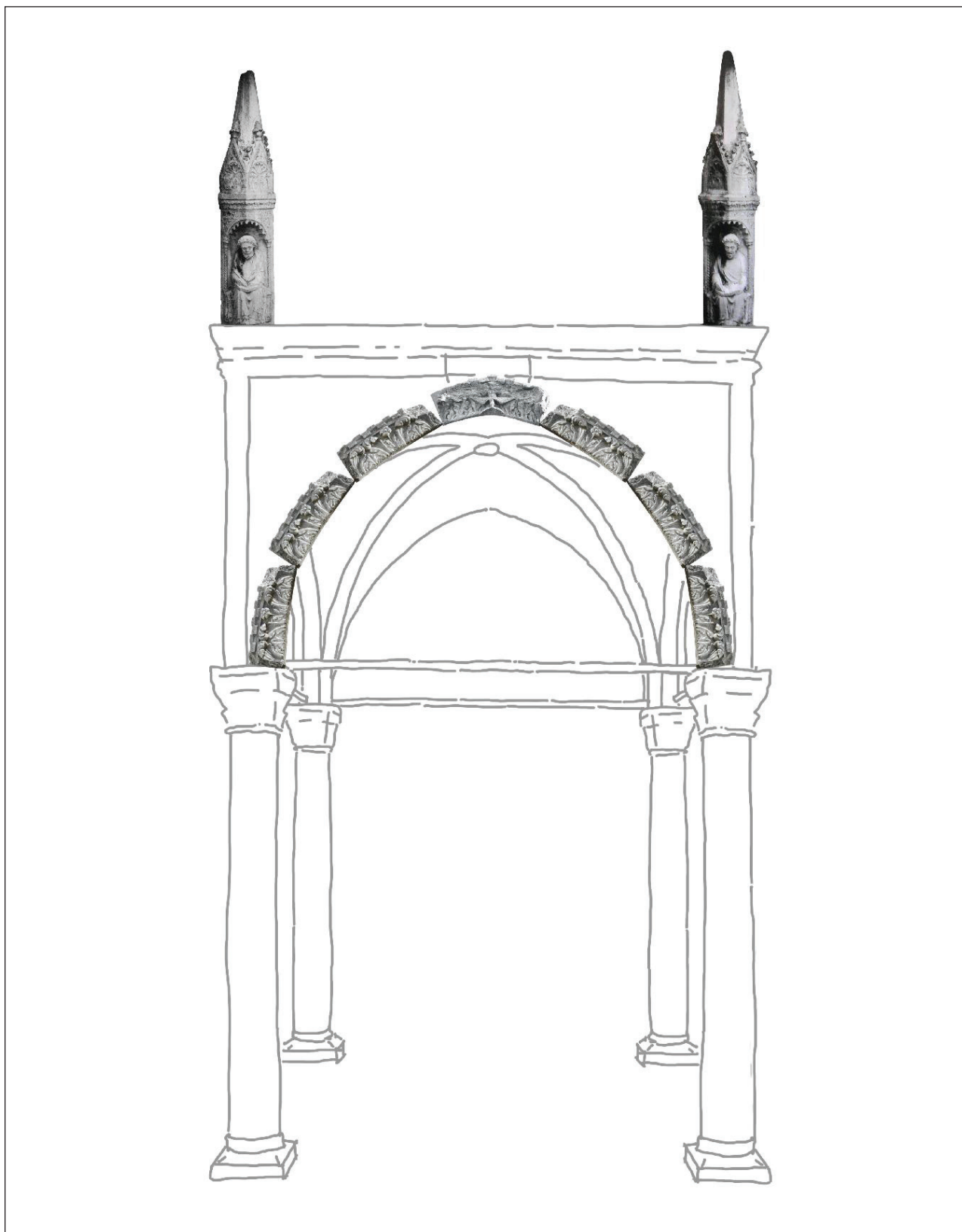
Slika 18: *Figura papeža Aleksandra v IV. loku v lapidariji (napis S. ALEXANDER je del I. loka). Relief povzema značilnosti sohe svetega Aleksandra na sarkofagu svetega Nazarija (brada, oblačilo in papeška tiara) (Foto: Jure Vuga).*

bližnjem antičnem mestu Stridunumu. Upodobljen je s kardinalskim klobukom, odprto knjigo in pisalom.

Figura svetega Aleksandra na podločju je neposreden »citat« Aleksandrove sohe na sarkofagu: oba imata brado in sorodno oblikovano papeško tiaro ter oblačilo, držita knjigo v levici in blagoslavljata z desnico. Tesna oblikovna sorodnost omenjene figure z reliefno upodobitvijo papeža Aleksandra na sarkofagu (katerega relikvije so bile shranjene v istem sarkofagu poleg Nazarijevih), je vidno pričevanje, da so bila podločja del arhitekturnega okrasa zavetnikovega monumentalnega groba (in ne cerkvenega preddverja, portalov ali korne pregraje).³³

Graditelji ciborija so poskrbeli za idejno sovpadanje med »zemeljsko« dimenzijo groba (in posmrtnih

³³ Podločja so v steno lapidarija vzdana nekoliko poljubno: Hieronimova figura se pojavlja pod sklepnikom z Marijino figuro v I. loku (ob muzejskem poslopju), namesto pod sklepnikom s svetim Nazarijem v IV. loku kjer so bili nanizani svetniki, ki jih je čistila koprška cerkev. Tudi napis S. IERONIMVS je napačno razporejen: oba elementa sta vzdana v prvem loku, vendar v napačnem vrstnem redu (napis se pojavlja skrajno zgoraj, figura pa na dnu). Na I. loku je viden napis S. ALEXANDER, nanašajoč se na figuro papeža Aleksandra, ki jo vidimo vdelano v IV. loku in je zaznamovana s papeško tiaro. Sklepamo, da bi pravilno zaporedje obsegalo sledeči niz: sklepnik s sv. Nazarijem (v IV. loku), podoba papeža Aleksandra (v IV. loku), napis S. ALEXANDER (v I. loku), podoba svetega Hieronima na istem kamnu pod omenjenim zapisom (v I. loku na dnu), ter nazadnje napis S. IERONIMVS in figura svetnika (morda sv. Avgustin ali Ambrož; I lok na vrhu), ki mu je sledil izgubljen napis in kasetno polje z vegetabilnim okrasom. Pomenljiva je razporeditev figur lokalnih svetnikov (vezanih na istrski zgodovinski kontekst) v istem nizu: Sv. Nazarij – papež Aleksander – sv. Hieronim.



Slika 19: Poskus rekonstrukcije ciborija iz srednjeveške koprške stolnice Marijinega vnebovzetja (grafično oblikovanje: Darja Vuga).

ostankov obeh svetnikov) in »nebeško« dimenzijo ciborija (kjer sta v lokalni skupnosti čaščena svetnika pridružena zboru prerokov in apostolov). Na podlagi paralelizma med figurama svetega Nazarija in papeža Aleksandra na sarkofagu in na podločjih bi nemara lahko pričakovali tudi lik diakona Elia iz Koštabone (ki je v I. stoletju iz Ogleja v Istro ponesel in razširil krščanstvo), za katerega bi po analogiji lahko sklepali, da je bil upodobljen na skrajnem desnem robu svoda (hrbtne stranice baldahina), sovpadajoč s figuro blaženega Elia na sarkofagu. Ne upodobitev diakona iz Koštabone, ne zapis njegovega imena na podločju, pa se nista ohranila.³⁴ Pod III. lokom z Janezom Krstnikom so upodobljene podobe prerokov (*Propheta*), izmed katerih sta se uničenju izognili le podobi Mojzesa (P. MOISES) in Zaharije (P. ÇACARIAS). Umestitev baldahina nad sarkofagom je bila – tako se zdi – premišljena do potankosti in se je podrejala sakralni ikonografiji in liturgiji. Patronov sarkofag je izvirno stal nad oltarjem, na mestu oltarne table (»pale«), in bil z glavno stranico obrnjen proti občestvu v glavni ladji, z zadnjo, slepo stranico pa proti apsidi.

Gotovo so tudi arhivolte koprškega ciborija nad kapiteli spenjale in strukturno utrjevale železne palice (»catene«), kakor na ciborijih v Benetkah, Poreču in Zadru. Za razliko od bolj čokatega, masivnejšega in tektonsko stabilnejšega beneškega romanskega ciborija je bil koprski baldahin zasnovan z zašiljenimi kvišku kipečimi orastlinjenimi in pozlačenimi loki, ki

jasno manifestirajo estetske vzgibe visoke gotike. O samozavesti in omiki koprskih naročnikov posredno pričajo tudi elementi, prevzeti iz antične umetnosti, kot so školjčne niše, ki potrjujejo, da je otoško mesto korenine svoje identitete iskalo v veličini rimskega cesarstva, katere dedič se je Justinopolis čutil na istrskih tleh. Predvsem mestno izobraženo plemstvo in duhovščina sta tudi v srednjem veku gojila zavest o starodavnem izvoru Aegide. Klasična dediščina je v »istrskih Atenah« pognala v klasje skozi delo humanistov in renesančnih umetnikov 15. in 16. stoletja, nekaj teženj, ki sramežljivo napovedujejo vztrajno prerajanje antike tudi v srednjem veku, pa zasledimo že na ostankih ciborija. Motiv školjčne niše, obrobljene s tordiranimi stebriči, nas v beneškem okolju verjetno prvič »preseneti« na omenjenih sarkofagih Carrarskih vojvod, ki sta nastala v sredini 14. stoletja. Ne da bi tem dekorativnim vzorcem želeli pripisati pretiran pomen, se nam zdi smotrno izpostaviti, da je Koper v tistem času zmogel hitro slediti trendom, ki so jih umetniki iniciirali v Benetkah in njihovem neposrednem zaledju, in bil zanje dovzeten. V beneškem okolju, kjer je bila cvetoča gotika tako neobhodno poenotena s tradicionalnim estetskim kanonom, da so si še v 15. stoletju renesančne pobude le s težavo utirale pot, prodirajoč iz Toskane in Lombardije, se nam zgodnja raba »klasicističnih« prvin »all'antica«, četudi primešanih obče razširjenim aksiomom beneške gotike, ne bi smela zdeti samoumevna, saj potrjuje, da je bil Koper v tistem času napredno in propulzivno kulturno središče.

34 Za razliko od današnje postavitve sarkofaga, ki gleda proti koru, si ga moramo v prvotni legi predstavljati zasukanega v osi leva – desna, saj je bil v funkciji »ancone« obrnjen proti glavni ladji.

TENTATIVO DI RICOSTRUZIONE DEL »CIBORIO DI SAN NAZZARIO« NEL DUOMO
MEDIEVALE DELL'ASSUNTA DI CAPODISTRIA

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RIASSUNTO

Il vescovo di Capodistria Francesco Zeno ha meticolosamente elencato l'inventario della Cattedrale dell'Assunta di Capodistria durante le sue visite tra il 1660 e 1664. Nella sue prime due relazioni fa menzione per ben quattro volte della »tribuna«, ovvero della »cappella« con quattro colonne di marmo, sotto la quale erano ubicati l'altare e il sarcofago di San Nazario. Anche il vescovo Paolo Naldini descrive il ciborio sito nella cattedrale, definendolo »Maestosa Tribuna, di pietre, di fogliami, ed oro vagamente adorna«. La Biblioteca del Seminario di Trieste conserva delle annotazioni che documentano il rifacimento del duomo (dopo il 1740), nelle quali vengono menzionate: »Colonne dell'antica Tribuna di S. Nazario della Catted.le«. Ed inoltre: »Che in uno de Capitelli delle Colonne dell'antica Tribuna di S. Nazario della Catted.le, che sono ancora nel Cortile del Vesc.to ui sono scolpite tre Arme piccole; quella di Mezzo rappresenta lo stemma di Mons.e. Loredano Vesc.o di Capod.a. nell'una da un lato ui è una Scala, nell'altra dell'altro lato una Croce«. Possiamo dunque supporre che nell'ambiente culturale veneto il termine generico »tribuna«, che denota qualsiasi loggia o struttura assestante all'interno della chiesa (per esempio il coro rialzato, la cantoria, oppure la tribuna del organo), veniva usato come sinonimo anche per il »baldacchino« che si ergeva sopra l'altare di san Nazario, per distinguerlo dal tabernacolo sull'altare maggiore (che viene denominato »ciborio«).

Il cronista anonimo del XVIII secolo ha riportato di aver visto su uno scudetto lo stemma dei Loredan, nonché di una scala (che potrebbe appartenere alla famiglia Gradenigo) e di una croce. L'analisi stilistica ci induce a pensare che gli elementi del ciborio siano stati eseguiti negli anni '70 del XIV secolo, come dimostrato da Guido Tigler. Una possibile spiegazione potrebbe essere che il vescovo Giovanni Loredan (1390–1411) fece incidere il proprio stemma su un capitello preesistente (oppure fece cambiare il capitello forse danneggiato durante l'irruzione dei Genovesi nel duomo nel 1380). G. Tigler ha paragonato i frammenti lapidei di Capodistria con i resti di sculture della Chiesa di Santa Maria in Acumene del 1377, oggi al Museo della Città di Rimini, attribuendo entrambi i monumenti agli scultori seguaci del maestro Enrico (collaboratore di Filippo Calendario al cantiere del Palazzo Ducale al quale è succeduto come proto). Gabriella Serdi ha fatto notare che le stesse maestranze avevano collaborato anche nell'opera di restauro della Basilica patriarcale di Aquileia (tra il 1269 e il 1371) sostenuta dal patriarca Marquardo e dal sacerdote Zanetto da Giustinopoli. Attraverso il suo intervento Zanetto di Capodistria assicurò probabilmente il contatto tra le officine di lapidisti veneziani che dalla Basilica di Aquileia vennero ingaggiati a Capodistria per realizzare il »ciborio di San Nazario«. L'opera fu completata entro il 1377, quando, dopo la soppressione di due rivolte armate durante l'episcopato di Lodovico (Alvise) Morosini (1364–1390), fu riconsacrato l'altare maggiore nella cattedrale. Forse fu proprio il vescovo Morosini a raccomandare gli scalpellini al futuro doge Michele Morosini (il suo monumento funebre del 1382 è l'ultima opera documentata di questo gruppo di scultori). Il cronista del XVIII secolo ci riferisce indirettamente del smantellamento e la rimozione del ciborio gotico, quando probabilmente anche le fiale leggermente accorciate furono inglobate sotto i quattro baldacchini della facciata del Duomo. La struttura monumentale alta all'incirca cinque metri (con le colonne di marmo alte intorno ai tre metri) che sovrastava l'altare di san Nazario presentava archi arricchiti da fogliame dorato e rilievi colorati con figure di apostoli, profeti, padri della chiesa e santi venerati nella diocesi, tra i quali figurano le effigi di san Nazzario nella chiave di volta e del papa Alessandro, le cui reliquie ancora si conservano in un cofanetto al interno dell'arca del santo patrono.

Parole chiave: Cattedrale della Beata Vergine Assunta di Capodistria, ciborio gotico, gotico veneziano, vescovato di Capodistria, vescovo Lodovico (Alvise) Morosini (1364–1390), Andriolo de Sanctis (Andriolo de Santi), maestranza di lapidisti veneziani »seguaci di 'Enrico'«

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VZGOJA ZA STARŠEVSTVO NA SLOVENSKEM V OBDOBJU 1945–1955

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IZVLEČEK

Članek na podlagi analize različnega arhivskega gradiva obravnava vzgojo za starševstvo na Slovenskem, ki je bila od konca druge svetovne vojne do sredine 50. let 20. stoletja namenjena predvsem ženskam – kot priprava na materinstvo – in je bila del socialističnega koncepta zdravstvenega varstva matere in otroka. Slednji je namreč v poveljnih razmerah, ko je bila umrljivost dojenčkov visoka, velik poudarek namenjal preventivi. Posledično se je zdravstvena vzgoja žensk odvijala v različnih zdravstvenih in prosvetnih ustanovah, pomemben delež pa so prispevale tudi organizacije, predvsem Rdeči križ Slovenije in Antifašistična fronta žensk Slovenije.

Ključne besede: zdravstvena vzgoja, spolna vzgoja, materinstvo, Slovenija, Jugoslavija, Rdeči križ Slovenije, Antifašistična fronta žensk Slovenije

L'EDUCAZIONE ALLA GENITORIALITÀ IN SLOVENIA NEL PERIODO 1945–1955

SINTESI

L'articolo, basandosi sull'analisi di diverso materiale d'archivio, prende in esame l'educazione alla genitorialità in Slovenia che, dalla fine della Seconda guerra mondiale alla metà degli anni '50 del XX secolo, era rivolta principalmente alle donne – come preparazione alla maternità – e faceva parte del concetto socialista di assistenza sanitaria alla madre e al bambino. Quest'ultima, infatti, poneva grande attenzione alla prevenzione data la situazione del dopoguerra in cui il tasso di mortalità infantile era elevato. Di conseguenza, l'educazione alla salute delle donne si svolgeva in varie istituzioni sanitarie ed educative, con un ruolo importante svolto anche dalle associazioni, in particolare dalla Croce Rossa della Slovenia e dal Fronte femminile antifascista della Slovenia.

Parole chiave: educazione alla salute, educazione sessuale, maternità, Slovenia, Jugoslavia, Croce Rossa della Slovenia, Fronte femminile antifascista della Slovenia

UVOD

Raziskovanje vzgoje za starševstvo – in znotraj nje spolne vzgoje – nam ponuja vpogled v družbene konstrukte normalne spolnosti ter oblikovanje spolnih identitet in vlog. Raziskovanje zgodovine spolnosti je prelomnico doživelo v sredini 70. let z Michelom Foucaultom (Foucault, 2010). Sprva so bile v ospredju, kot navaja Paula Fass, raziskave marginalnih seksualnih praks, v zadnjem času pa je raziskovanje spolne vzgoje postalo aktualno na številnih področjih (Fass, 2003). Raziskovanje zgodovine spolnosti in spolov je aktualno tudi v Sloveniji. Le nekateri avtorji pa se v svojih delih dotikajo tudi spolne vzgoje. V delu Bahk, tobak, venera je Meta Remec predstavila spolno vzgojo v dolgem 19. stoletju (Remec, 2016). O njej pa v svojih raziskavah načrtovanja družine v Jugoslaviji po drugi svetovni vojni piše tudi Ivana Dobrivojevič (Dobrivojevič, 2018; 2019). Pri raziskovanju položaja žensk v Sloveniji med letoma 1945 in 1953 se je teme dotaknila Mateja Jeraj (Jeraj, 2005), deloma pa tudi Irena Rožman (Rožman, 2012). Študija, ki bi se torej primarno ukvarjala s spolno vzgojo na Slovenskem po drugi svetovni vojni, ne obstaja. Vzel bo zapolnil pričujoči prispevek, v katerem bo glavno raziskovalno vprašanje vzgoja za starševstvo na Slovenskem med letoma 1945 in 1955. V njem bodo predstavljene oblike vzgoje za starševstvo, njihovi temelji, vzpostavljeni pred drugo svetovno vojno, in njihov domet. Poudarek bo tudi na akterjih, ki so se zanjo zavzemali, in njihovi motivaciji, ki jih je vzpodbujala k vzgojnemu delu na tem področju, ter težavah, s katerimi so se srečevali. Raziskava bo metodološko temeljila na kritični analizi primarnih in sekundarnih virov. Predmet analize bodo predvsem arhivski viri različnih državnih organov in družbeno-političnih organizacij, deloma pa tudi priročniki in časopisno gradivo ter že obstoječa literatura. Pri preučevanju in analizi gradiva bo uporabljena pretežno kvalitativna metodologija, z opisno, pojasnjevalno in primerjalno metodo, v določeni meri pa bodo predstavljeni tudi statistični podatki.

PREDVOJNI TEMELJI VZGOJE ZA STARŠEVSTVO IN SPOLNO VZGOJO NA SLOVENSKEM IN SVETOVNI KONTEKST

Ker ne gre pri vseh prizadevanjih, ki so se odvijala na področju vzgoje za starševstvo in spolnost na Slo-

venskem po drugi svetovni vojni, za popolnoma nove in edinstvene oblike, je za lažje umevanje potrebna predstavitev dojemanja skrbi za otroka skozi čas na Slovenskem in v svetu. Kdaj točno je prišlo do sprememb v odnosu do otrok, si strokovnjaki niso enotni. Philippe Aries in Lloyd deMause mejnik umeščata v 17. stoletje, Hugh Cunningham pa v 18. stoletje (Aries, 1962; deMause, 1995; Cunningham, 1995). V nasprotju z njimi pa nekateri avtorji trdijo, da je imel otrok skozi različna zgodovinska obdobja enako pomembno emocionalno in ekonomsko vrednost – odnos do otrok naj bi bilo torej kontinuirano, nadčasovno čustvo, ki pa naj bi imelo različne pojavne oblike in kvalitete (Domiter Protner, 2012, 301). Ne glede na izbrano teorijo lahko tako na Slovenskem kot v svetu s vzponom nacionalizma opazujemo procese spreminjanja pogleda na telo. Predvsem otroško je postalo simbol prihodnosti nacije in s tem naložba, kar je narekovalo (predvsem po prvi svetovni vojni) povečano socialno-zdravstveno skrb za matere in otroke (Cergol Paradiž, 2012, 266; 2015).¹

Temelji za slednjo, na katerih so gradili po drugi svetovni vojni, so bili na Slovenskem postavljeni v času med obema vojnoma. Kraljevina Jugoslavija je namreč posvečala veliko skrb populacijski politiki – ustanavljanje novih zdravstvenih in socialnih ustanov ter usposabljanje strokovnega osebja za ozaveščanje mater na terenu (Dobaja, 2010, 7). Zakoni so v obdobju prve Jugoslavije predvidevali ustanavljanje posebnih higienskih inštitutov po banovinah, znotraj katerih naj bi delovali: posvetovalnica za nosečnice,² otroški dispanzer, dečja kolonija, materinski domovi in sekcije za posploševanje otroške higiene (Žnidaršič Žagar, 2009, 47). Tako je država skupaj z Društvom Dečji in materinski dom kraljice Marije leta 1923 vzpostavila Zavod za zdravstveno zaščito mater in otrok. Znotraj zavoda so delovali otroški dispanzer (otroška poliklinika in posvetovalnica za matere), higienska šola materinstva,³ dečji in materinski dom, mlečna kuhinja, šola za zaščitne sestre in posvetovalnica za nosečnice (Dobaja, 2010, 11; Cergol Paradiž, 2012, 269). Za zdravje nosečnic, porodnic in otrok pa so bili na ravni nižjih upravnih območij odgovorni zdravstveni domovi,⁴ v okviru katerih naj bi delovali dispanzerji za matere in otroke (Cergol Paradiž, 2012, 269). Pomembno vlogo pri vzpostavljanju socialno-zdravstvene zaščite so

1 Ob koncu 18. stoletja je v svetu prišlo do pojava otroških in ženskih ambulant in porodnišnic (Zupanič Slavec, 2012b, 421). V sedemdesetih letih 19. stoletja pa so v Franciji nastale prve zakonske uredbe o zaščiti otrok, kasneje so ji sledile tudi druge evropske države (Zupanič Slavec, 2012b, 422). Razmere v porodništvu so na Slovenskem napredovale z reformami Marije Terezije, ki jih je vnesel zdravnik Gerhard van Swieten. Ustanovljene so bile štiri babiške šole, izšlo pa je tudi več del v slovenščini na to tematiko. K temu je močno prispeval Anton Makovic, ki je poskrbel, da so leta 1789 odprli tudi porodniški oddelek in najdenišnico v ljubljanskem meščanskem špitalu, ki je bila namenjena predvsem revnejšim ženskam. Za začetek razvoja ginekologije pa velja ustanovitev ginekološkega oddelka leta 1870 v Deželni bolnici v Ljubljani (Zupanič Slavec, 2012a, 49–51).

2 V Dravski banovini je bilo 14 posvetovalnic za matere (Žnidaršič Žagar, 2009, 47).

3 Poleg higienske šole materinstva je zavod organiziral še potujoče razstave o higieni dojenčka in majhnega otroka. Zavod je skupaj s kmetijsko-gospodinjstvi tečaji prirejal tudi tečaje za žene in odrasla dekleta o negi in higieni otrok (Dobaja, 2010, 13).

4 Leta 1934 je bilo enajst otroških dispanzerjev, vanje je na pregled otroka pripeljalo 2571 mater, 1094 pa jih je prišlo samo na posvet. Opravili so 12259 pregledov dojenčkov in 10855 majhnih otrok (Dobaja, 2010, 17).

imela tudi razna društva, npr. Jugoslovanska unija za zaščito otrok, ki je imela v Ljubljani sekcijo za Dravsko banovino (Dobaja, 2010, 22).

Poleg zagotavljanja socialno-zdravstvene oskrbe je na prelomu 19. in 20. stoletja postala pomembna tudi pravilna vzgoja za starševstvo. Sabina Žnidaršič Žagar ugotavlja, da je materinstvo dobivalo novo podobo,⁵ postalo je bolj zahtevno in kompleksno, za uspeh pa so bila potrebna različna znanja in spretnosti, ki pa jih ženske niso več mogle črpati iz naravnega instinkta, ampak se jih je bilo potrebno priučiti (Žnidaršič Žagar, 2009, 10). V materinstvo se je pričela vpletati znanost, kar je v prvi polovici 20. stoletja sprožilo nastanek množice poučnih besedil na to temo (Žnidaršič Žagar, 2009, 35).⁶ Napotke za pripravo na materinstvo pa so nudile tudi ženske revije, npr. *Slovenka*, *Ženski svet* ter socialno-zdravstvene ustanove in druge organizacije (Žnidaršič Žagar, 2009, 41).

Do podobne situacije je na prelomu stoletja prišlo tudi pri spolni vzgoji. Slednjo je svetovna medicina pričela obravnavati v 18. in 19. slovenski zdravniki pa ji velike pozornosti niso posvečali, raje so jo prepustili katoliški vzgoji (Jaunig, 2012, 471), ki je temeljila na spolnem pesimizmu.⁷ Tako je bila na prelomu 19. in 20. stoletja polna vzgoja večinoma v domeni cerkve in staršev, veljalo je namreč za nesprejemljivo, da bi o teh tematikah poučevali v šolah (Remec, 2016, 208–218). V Sloveniji je spolna vzgoja postala pomembnejša šele po prvi svetovni vojni (Jaunig, 2012, 471), ko je prišlo do žolčnih razprav o njeni vsebini in obliki (Rožman, 2012, 399). Klerikalci so zastopali idejo, da je potrebno o spolnosti povedati le najnujnejše, z izbranimi besedami in ob pravem času (individualna spolna vzgoja). Liberalci so takšnim skrivalnicam in lažem nasprotovali in so zagovarjali preventivno spolno vzgojo – tako individualno kot tisto v šoli (Rožman, 2012, 401). V skladu s njihovimi idejami se je vedno bolj uveljavljalo prepričanje, da

nevednost ne zadostuje več. Starše so zaradi nepoučenosti, in zavezanosti tradiciji vse bolj dojemali kot neprimerne vzgojitelje, porajale pa so se ideje o nujnosti vključevanja spolne vzgoje v izobraževalni proces in nastanek sistematičnih pedagoških načrtov za pouk spolne vzgoje (Remec, 2016, 208–218).

Tako v vzgoji za starševstvo kot v spolni vzgoji slovensko ozemlje ni bilo izjema, ampak je bilo vpeto v dogajanje v svetu. Sauerteig in Davidson, ugotavljata, da se je v 20. stoletju v Evropi uveljavilo prepričanje, da je potrebno mlade počuti o spolnosti ter jim predstaviti družbeno in moralno sprejemljive oblike le-te. Z vzgojnimi prizadevanji so spolnost želeli kanalizirati v zakonsko in družinsko življenje. Tako je spolna vzgoja v nekaterih državah v šolske učilnice vstopala že pred prvo svetovno vojno.⁸ Tako spolna vzgoja kot vzgoja za starševstvo sta postali aktualni predvsem ob koncu druge svetovne vojne, ko so z njo želeli doseči stabilizacijo spolnega reda in spolnih vlog (Sauerteig & Davidson, 2008, 1–8). V Angliji so tako izvajali večerne tečaje spolne higiene za starše, materinske in gospodinjske tečaje, pogovore o osebni higieni, tečaje za starše in predzakonske tečaje. Pri udeležencih so želeli doseči obvladovanje spolnega nagona, varovanje pred spolnimi boleznimi (predvsem v času vojne) in reprodukcijo v zakonu (Pilcher, 2005, 153–170). Podobno je bilo tudi v Franciji, kjer je so med letoma 1913 in 1950 dečke svarili pred spolnimi boleznimi (pozitivna percepcija abstinence, predigra kot pregled partnerja), deklice pa pripravljali na materinstvo (De Luca Barrusse, 2011, 43–44). Spolna vzgoja je sicer veljala za kontroverzno in ni bila del šolskega sistema, šele v 60. letih je prišlo do bolj sproščenega odnosa, spolna vzgoja pa je postajala tudi del kurikulumov. Pri tem sta najbolj prednjačili Švedska in Zahodna Nemčija, medtem ko so npr. Anglija,⁹ Škotska, Italija, Poljska, Francija¹⁰ in Sovjetska zveza¹¹ zaostajale. Za vse je bilo značilno, da so tudi pri šolski spolni

5 Nosečnost je veljala za nekaj, kar se mora umakniti iz javnosti, z razvojem medicine pa je postala vedno bolj nadzorovana – ni bilo namreč več dovolj, da je neka ženska noseča, morala je biti zdravo noseča. Istočasno se je vzpostavila tudi zahteva po varnem porodu, kar je spodbudilo naraščanje števila žensk, ki so rodile v bolnišnici (v ljubljanski ženski bolnišnici in porodnišnici je v obdobju 1920–1936 število porodov naraslo z 813 na 2106 (Žnidaršič Žagar, 2009, 45)). Ženske so imele vedno večje zaupanje v medicino in so z organiziranimi akcijami pritiskale na državo, da je potrebno nosečnica, porodnicam, materam in otrokom omogočiti boljši dostop do zdravniških uslug (Žnidaršič Žagar, 2009, 47).

6 Prva knjiga je nastala že leta 1882, in sicer je šlo za knjigo zdravnika Š. Kočevarja z naslovom *Slovenska mati, Podučna knjiga materam, kako naj sebe in svoje otroke zdrave obvarjejo*.

7 Za moralnega je veljal tisti posameznik, ki je ob spolnosti čutil odklon in sram. Foucault je trdil, da se je viktorijanska spolnost pričela v 17. stoletju, torej v času zgodnjega kapitalizma. Podobno je trdil tudi W. Reich, ki je na podlagi Engelsa, Marxa in Morgana oblikoval tezo, da je s privatno lastnino prišlo do utesnjevanja in zatiranja spolne svobode (Rožman, 2012, 397).

8 Nemška organizacija DGBG je npr. veliko pozornost na področju spolne vzgoje namenjala izobraževanju staršev, zanje izdajala je posebne brošure in pripravljala predavanja (Remec, 2016, 218).

9 Spolna vzgoja v obliki starševskih in predzakonskih tečajev sredstvo za zagotavljanje zdravja bodočih družin in naroda, sredi 50. let pa jo je aktivneje pričelo izvajati tudi šolstvo (Iyer & Aggleton, 2015, 3–15).

10 V Franciji je bila vse do leta 1974 v domeni društev in organizacij: učiteljska in starševska društva, *Mouvement français pour le planning familial* (Gibanje za načrtovanje družine), *Mouvement pour la libération de l'avortement et de la contraception* (Gibanje za liberalizacijo splava in kontracepcije) itd. (Beattie, 2006, 115–120).

11 V slednji so program spolne vzgoje prvič preizkusili v nekaterih šolah v Moskvi leta 1980 (Williams, 1994, 81–102).

vzgoji sprva poudarjali tveganja,¹² o prijetnih učinkih spolnosti pa so morali mladi iskati informacije drugje (Sauerteig & Davidson, 2008, 1–8).

ZDRAVSTVENA SLUŽBA PO DRUGI SVETOVNI VOJNI

Tako kot prva svetovna vojna je tudi druga svetovna vojna po Michelu Foucaultu prinesla preobrat v dožemanju zdravja. Prej uveljavljeni princip pravice do življenja se je namreč moral umakniti principu pravice do zdravja, zagotavljanje slednje vsakemu posamezniku pa je postala ena od nalog države (Foucault, 2004, 4–7). Posledično je varovanje zdravja zavzelo pomemben del političnih prizadevanj – tudi v Jugoslaviji, kjer se je uveljavil socialistični model zdravstvenega varstva (Jaunig, 2012, 473).¹³ Del slednjega je vključeval skrb za zdravje mater in otrok, ki so, kot je v članku zapisala Erna Muser, predstavljali »sedanjost in bodočnost.«¹⁴ Intenzivno vlaganje v dobrobit matere in otroka, kar Renata Salecl opredeljuje kot kult otroka, je bila torej naložba za boljšo prihodnost (Salecl, 2010, 85). Vse to je medicini, kot piše Senta Jaunig, omogočilo, da je s pomočjo materialne opore države uveljavila pravila in norme, za kar pred drugo svetovno vojno ni imela dovoljše podpore (Jaunig, 2012, 747).

Del tega procesa je bila tudi skrb za zdravje mater in otrok – npr. težnja po institucionalizaciji in profesionalizaciji porodnih praks, vzgoja za odgovorno starševstvo, zdravstvena vzgoja itd., za kar se je program izoblikoval že v okviru partizanskega zdravstva (Vehar, 2019). Slovenija pri tem ni bila fenomen. Da bi rojstva potekala pod strokovnim nadzorom, si je po drugi svetovni vojni namreč prizadevala večina razvitih držav – tako se je npr. leta 1975 v Angliji in Walesu le še 5 % otrok rodilo na domu (Davis, 2013). Podobno je bilo tudi v državah Vhodne Evrope, kjer je bila revolucija materinske oskrbe del systemskega planiranja izboljšanja ekonomskega in socialnega stanja (Tew, 1990). Del tega je bila tudi Jugoslavija, ki se je za prevzgojo ženske na področju skrbi za lastno in otrokovo telo odločila tudi zaradi visoke umrljivosti dojenčkov. Leta 1939 je npr. v Združenem kraljestvu ta znašala 5,4 %, ¹⁵ v Kraljevini Jugoslaviji 13,23 %

(Jeraj, 2005, 253), na Slovenskem pa 10,9 %. Visoka je ostala tudi po drugi svetovni vojni. Leta 1946 je bila v Ljudski republiki Sloveniji (LRS) 9,5 %, ¹⁶ kar je močno presegalo umrljivost dojenčkov (3–5 %) v Združenem kraljestvu in Skandinaviji. Nekateri slovenski kraji so se temu odstotku že uspeli približati – leta 1949 je npr. najnižji odstotek umrljivosti dojenčkov na Slovenskem znašal 4,9 % (Krško). Pereče pa je bilo stanje v krajih, kjer je bila umrljivost daleč nad slovenskim povprečjem – leta 1949 je bila umrljivost dojenčkov najvišja v Ilirski Bistrici, in sicer kar 21,9 % (Bole, 1956, 122).

Zniževanje umrljivosti dojenčkov ter tudi porodnic sta zato postala ena od ciljev zdravstvene službe na Slovenskem. Izboljšanje so želeli doseči s širjenjem ginekološko-porodniške preventive, v katero je spadala tudi vzgoja za materinstvo. Glavni pobudnik širjenja preventive je bil pionir sodobnega slovenskega porodništva – dr. Pavel Lunaček (Zupan, 2000; Zupanič Slavec, 2012a). Julija 1945 je prevzel vodenje Klinike za ginekologijo in porodništvo v Ljubljani (Borisov, 1995, 223), ki pa je bila le ena od ustanov, ki si je prizadevala za zdravstveno zaščito in vzgojo mater in otrok. Poleg nje so na tem področju delovali še ginekološko-porodniški oddelki bolnišnic, porodnišnice, materinski domovi, dečji domovi in kolonije, jasli, otroške poliklinike in ambulate, posvetovalnice za ženske in otroški dispanzerji ter zdravstveni domovi in postaje.¹⁷

Na terenu so bili ženskam najdosegnejši dispanzerji, zdravstvene postaje in domovi. Slednji so na Slovenskem pričeli nastajati že v obdobju med vojnama (prvi je nastal leta 1926 v Lukovici pri Domžalah), po drugi svetovni vojni pa so se vzpostavljali na sedežih okrajev in v občinskih središčih. Znotraj krajev so se ustanovljale zdravstvene postaje, naloge obeh pa je bilo tako ambulantno kot terensko delo (Zupanič Slavec, 2017, 169–170). Podobno zadolžitev so imeli tudi dispanzerji oz. posvetovalnice, ki so nastajali znotraj zdravstvenih domov (oz. drugih zdravstvenih ustanov) ali samostojno in so pokrivali široko področje. Tako je dispanzer za ženske imel ginekološko ordinacijo; ki je skrbela za odkrivanje in zdravljenje ženskih bolezni, zdravstveno nadzorovala ženske po

12 V ZDA je bil npr. pred seksualno revolucijo cilj spolne vzgoje sposobnost zadrževanja spolnega nagona, po njej pa vzgoja za preprečitev pred nezaželeno nosečnostjo (Huber & Firmin, 2014, 44–45).

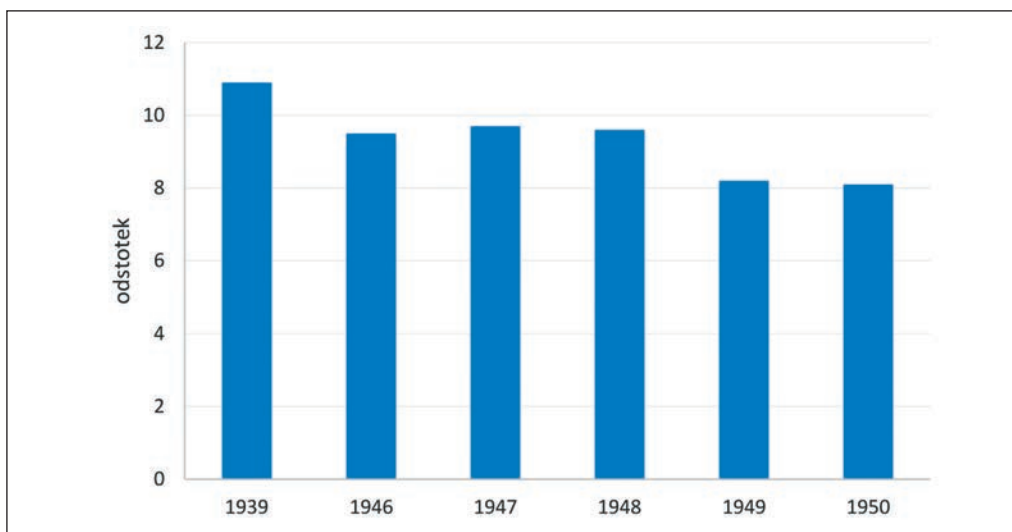
13 Temeljit je na predvojni zasnovi, ki je opisana v prejšnjem poglavju.

14 Ljudska pravica, 11. 5. 1947: K vprašanju matere in otroka, 4.

15 Odstotek je bil izračunan na podlagi števila umrlih do enega leta starosti ter števila živorojenih leta 1939 v Združenem kraljestvu, ki so dostopni na spletni strani Office for National Statistics: Vital statistics in the UK. Graf, ki prikazuje gibanje umrljivosti v Združenem kraljestvu od leta 1930 do danes, pa je dostopen na spletni strani Closer: Infant mortality rate (Closer, 2018).

16 ARS-1800, 29, 331, 235/49, Zaščita matere in otroka: umrljivost dojenčkov; ARS-1800, 41, 420, Zdravstveno stanje dojenčkov in malih otrok.

17 Uradni list FLRJ, 9. 6. 1948: Splošna navodila o organizaciji zaščite in povzdige ljudskega zdravja, 652–660. Od leta 1951 je k zdravstveni vzgoji prebivalstva prispeval tudi Centralni higienski zavod.



Graf 1: Umrljivost dojenčkov (%) v Ljudski republiki Sloveniji v obdobju 1939–1950.¹⁸

porodu ter kasneje tudi uvajala kontracepcijo¹⁹ in nudila posvetovanje o neplodnosti in zdravi spolnosti. Del dispanzerja za žene je bila tudi posvetovalnica za nosečnice, ki je morala od leta 1951 obvezno vršiti preglede nosečnic v 4. in 8. mesecu nosečnosti.²⁰ Med naloge dispanzerja pa je spadalo tudi preučevanje zdravstvenih problemov ter zdravstveno vzgojno delo. V sklopu slednjega so ženske, ki so jih obiskale, poučevali o osebni higieni, prehrani, zaposlitvi v času nosečnosti, porodu in materinstvu. Informacije o negi otroka pa so jim nudili predvsem otroški dispanzerji. Njihove naloge so bile: redni pregledi telesnega razvoja otroka, skrb za normalen duševni razvoj otroka, njegovo prehrano in zaščito pred nalezljivimi boleznimi ter individualna zdravstvena vzgoja staršev (Bole, 1956, 120, 124).

Pomemben del pri zdravstvenem varstvu mater in otrok so prispevale tudi patronažne sestre in babice, ki so nosečnice, porodnice, otročnice in matere z otroki obiskovale na njihovih domovih. Preventiva ter vzgoja

sta po drugi svetovni vojni postajali njihovi vedno bolj pomembni nalogi. Temu je bil leta 1948 prilagojen tudi predmetnik dvoletne babiške šole v Ljubljani (Kralj, 2003, 12), kot eno osrednjih nalog pa je preventivno dejavnost izpostavil tudi novi zakon o babiški službi, ki je bil sprejet leta 1954.²¹

Vzgojno delo je potekalo na različne načine. Poleg informiranja posamezne pacientke znotraj ambulate oz. na terenu so zdravniki, patronažne in medicinske sestre ter babice²² znotraj ustanove ali drugje na terenu pripravljali predavanja (leta 1952 je bilo npr. takšnih predavanj v slovenjgraškem okraju 242),²³ krajše tečaje/šole in pogovore s pomočjo nazornih sredstev (filmi, diapozitivi, flanelografi). Takšnih zdravstveno-vzgojnih dejavnosti so se ženske udeleževale zaradi notranje (lasten interes) ali zunanje motivacije (npr. članki v časopisju, nagovarjanje na zdravstvenemu izobraževanju znotraj Antifašistične fronte žensk (AFŽ) itd.).²⁴ Nekatere so se o materinstvu še dodatno informirale z obiskovanjem materinskih šol, ki pa v prvem desetle-

¹⁸ Graf je bil narejen na podlagi dveh virov: ARS-1800, 29, 331, 235/49, Zaščita matere in otroka: umrljivost dojenčkov; ARS-1800, 41, 420, Zdravstveno stanje dojenčkov in malih otrok.

¹⁹ Kontracepcija je postajala vedno pomembnejša. Zdravniško osebje se je npr. že pred ustanovitvijo Centralnega dispanzerja za žene v Ljubljani leta 1954, zavzemalo za uvedbo moderne ter zanesljive kontracepcije. Konec leta 1954 so dobili prvi paket diafragme, ki jih je izdelala Sava, v Leku pa so naročili pasto Genosan. V začetku leta 1955 so pričeli s kontracepcijsko službo, njihovo delo pa je zajelo predvsem ženske z več otroki in tiste, ki so se za kontracepcijo prijavile že pred letom ali več (ARS-1821, 4, 15, 104, Poročilo Centralnega dispanzerja za žene v Ljubljani za leto 1955).

²⁰ Uradni list LRS, 30. 1. 1951: Uredba o zdravniškem pregledu nosečih žensk, 37–38.

²¹ Z uredbo leta 1947 so babice postale državne uslužbenke (Uradni list LRS, 3. 5. 1947: Uredba o službi krajevnih babic, 102–103). Zakon o babiški službi in porodniški pomoči izven zdravstvenih zavodov iz leta 1954 pa je njihovo preventivno delo na terenu še dodatno izpostavil.

²² Pobudo in pomoč pri organizaciji so jim pogosto nudile množične organizacije, npr. AFŽ, RKS, Zveza prijateljev mladine Slovenije (ZPMS) itd.

²³ ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Okrajni odbor AFŽ Slovenj Gradec.

²⁴ ARS-1821, 4, 13, 10. Zdravstveno prosvetljenje in vzgoja družine.

tju po vojni še niso bile sistematično organizirane po celotnem slovenskem ozemlju.²⁵ Še redkejša so bila lahko del preizkušanja novih metod. Ena izmed njih je bila npr. Readova metoda²⁶ nebolečega poroda.²⁷ Posebne pozornosti pa so bile ponekod deležne tudi matere otrok, ki so zboleli zaradi njihovega neznanja. Slednje so vključili v 2-dnevno prevziganje v negi otrok v materinskih ali dečjih domovih.²⁸

ŠOLSKI SISTEM

V nasprotju z zdravstveno službo splošni izobraževalni sistem na Slovenskem v prvem desetletju po vojni pripravi mladih na naloge starševstva ni posvečal posebne pozornosti.²⁹ Nekoliko spolne, zdravstvene in družinske vzgoje so bili lahko učenci deležni pri pouku posameznih predmetov.³⁰ Eden izmed takšnih predmetov je bila npr. moralna vzgoja, ki so ga poskusno v osnovne šole uvedli v šolskem letu 1952/53.³¹ V učni načrt predmeta sta bili vključeni tudi družinska in spolna vzgoja.³² Predvsem slednja pa je učiteljem zaradi pomanjkanja učil povzročala preglavice.³³ V nasprotju z učenci splošnih šol so bili več vsebin povezanih z družino in spolnostjo po besedah Mirana Lužnika deležni njihovi starši v okviru šol za starše³⁴ in drugih predavanj.³⁵

Več vzgoje za zakon in družino je bilo na šolah, ki so šolale zdravstveni in vzgojni kader, ter na kmetijsko-gospodinskih šolah, ki so bile namenjene predvsem šolanju podeželske mladine po osnovni šoli in so

zajele velik krog slušateljev. Na Slovenskem se je potreba po gospodinskem poduku, kot ugotavlja Sabina Žnidaršič Žagar, pokazala že v 19. stoletju, na začetku 20. stoletja pa so pričele nastajati specializirane gospodinske šole, ki so bile namenjene tako kmečkemu, delavskemu in meščanskemu prebivalstvu (Žnidaršič Žagar, 2004). Aktualne so bile tudi po drugi svetovni vojni, saj so jih leta 1945 obnovili,³⁶ vendar le za kratek čas. Leta 1947 so jih, kot je zapisala Mateja Jeraj, v duhu marksistično-leninistične teorije, da bodo gospodinska dela prevzeli gospodinski stroji in servisi, ukinili (Jeraj, 2005, 250). Takšno šolstvo so označili za nesodobno ter mu očitali vzgojo za neveste.³⁷ Ukinitve je povzročila praznina in pojavil se je problem šolanja podeželske mladine po zaključku osnovne šole. Situacijo so poskušali zapolnjevati tečaji AFŽ, Ljudske prosvete, Osvobodilne fronte (OF) ter Rdečega križa (RK). Dekleta, ki so se teh tečajev udeležila, so se seznanila tudi z materinstvom. Program za gospodinske tečaje iz leta 1948 je namreč vključeval pouk higijene, znotraj katere se je poučevalo higieno žene in nega otroka, ter vzgojeslovje.³⁸ Podobno vsebino je imel tudi predmetnik 4-mesečnega kmetijsko-gospodinskega tečaja, ki je zdravstvu in higieni namenil 48 ur. V sklopu osebne higijene je bila v programu predvidena tudi osnovna spolna higiena. Pri higieni žene pa so bila poglavja sledeča: nosečnost, splav in porod.³⁹

Zaradi težnje po sistematičnosti in nadzoru so leta 1950 ponovno pričeli obnavljati kmetijsko-gospodinske šole.⁴⁰ Večinoma so delovale v zgradbah osnovnih šol,

25 Centralni dispanzer za žene v Ljubljani je npr. želel organizirati stalno materinsko šolo na Viču, a jim to do leta 1955 ni uspelo. Šola se je sicer izvajala, vendar ne tako, kot so si želeli. Program za šole je že nastal, v prvem poglavju Osebna higiena žene pa so ženske podučili tudi o ženskih spolovilih, menstruaciji, higieni (splošni, v času menstruacije, nosečnosti), prepoznavanju nosečnosti, pripravi in poteku poroda, splavu ter meni. ARS-1821, 4, 15, 104, Poročilo Centralnega dispanzerja za žene v Ljubljani za leto 1955; SI AS 1821, 4, 15, 58, Program materinske šole; SI AS 1821, 4, 15, 55, Higiena žene in zdravje matere.

26 Grantly Dick Read (1890–1959) je bil britanski porodničar ter zagovornik naravnega poroda (sam ga je definiral kot porod brez posegov, ki bi motili njegov potek, odsvetoval je tudi uporabo zdravil in instrumentov ter hospitalizacijo) ter odpravljanja strahu pred porodom (strah naj bi namreč povzročal napetost v telesu in posledično bolečino). Svoja stališča je ubesedil v knjigah *Natural Childbirth* (1933), *Revelation of childbirth* (1942), *Childbirth Without Fear* (1944) in *Natural Childbirth: A Documentary Record of the Birth* (1957). Zaradi radikalnih stališč o materinstvu, ženski emancipaciji in veri so mu pogosto očitali antifeminizem (več v Thomas, 1997; Cosslett, 1994; McKenzie-Mohr & Lafrance, 2014).

27 V Centralnem dispanzerju za ženske v Ljubljani so jo sprva predstavili 22 medicinskim sestram, nato sta jo dve leti preizkušala dva zdravnika individualno, leta 1955 pa so vzpostavili eno stalno šolo (ARS-1821, 4, 15, 104, Poročilo Centralnega dispanzerja za žene v Ljubljani za leto 1955).

28 ARS-1821, 4, 13, 10, Zdravstveno prosvetljenje in vzgoja družine.

29 ARS-1821, 4, 15, 74, Zdravstvena zaščita matere in otroka.

30 ARS-1821, 4, 13, 10, Zdravstveno prosvetljenje in vzgoja družine.

31 ARS-249, 42, 2707, Svet za prosveto in kulturo LRS o etični vzgoji Svetu za znanost in kulturo vlade FLRJ, 8. 7. 1952.

32 ARS-249, 43, Učni načrt za moralno vzgojo.

33 ARS-249, 95, 2747, Poročilo o pouku družbenomoralne vzgoje v OLO Slovenj Gradec, 8. 11. 1954.

34 Posebnih šol za starše v tem obdobju še ni bilo. So pa razne organizacije (ZPMS, Ljudska univerza, pedagoška društva) prirejale pedagoške tečaje za starše (ARS-1589, III, 35, 969, Seja komisije za množične organizacije, 13. 3. 1952).

35 ARS-537, 1487, 2302, Informacija o spolni vzgoji.

36 Tako je leta 1946 delovalo deset enoletnih gospodinskih šol ter več tečajev. V Mariboru je delovala triletna gospodinska šola, ki je izobraževala kader za kolektivna gospodinjstva, na podeželju pa so delovale kmetijske oz. nadaljevalne gospodinske šole (ARS-1821, 3, I. šolstvo (gospodinsko prosvetljevanje)).

37 ARS-1821, 3, I. šolstvo (gospodinsko prosvetljevanje).

38 ARS-1800, 20, 293, 18/48, Program za gospodinski tečaj.

39 ARS-1800, 43, 425, Predmetnik za 4-mesečne Kmetijsko-gospodinske tečaje.

40 ARS-1821, 3, I. šolstvo (gospodinsko prosvetljevanje).

zajemale pa so predvsem kmečko mladino (za delavke so org. večerne tečaje). Šole so obsegale 2 letnika, ki sta se izvajala v zimskih mesecih.⁴¹ Za vse učence je učni načrt predvideval 12 ur osebne higiene (osnove spolne higiene), samo za dekleta pa je predmetnik vseboval še 50 ur gospodinjstva ter nege otroka (nega noseče žene, porod, telesni ustroj in razvoj dojenčka, nega, prehrana).⁴²

PRISPEVEK MNOŽIČNIH ORGANIZACIJ

K vzgoji za starševstvo so pomemben delež prispevale tudi t. i. množične organizacije, ki so npr. organizirale različna predavanja ter dogodke povezane s temo ter sodelovale z zdravstveniki, šolniki in politiki pri reševanju vprašanja vzgoje (bodočih) staršev. Najvidnejšo vlogo v prvem desetletju po drugi svetovni vojni sta imela predvsem AFŽ⁴³ ter Rdeči križ Slovenije (RKS). Slednji je npr. pripravljala tudi zdravstveno-vzgojne tečaje ter priložnostna predavanja, npr. ob Tednih matere in otroka. Poseben poudarek je dajal tudi zdravstveni vzgoji mladine v okviru podmladka (npr. tečaji za nego dojenčka, prva pomoč).⁴⁴ Njegov največji projekt pa so bili tečaji ženske vaške mladine, ki jih je leta 1952 pričel izvajati v okviru predvojaške vzgoje. Ta je leta 1948 določena z Uredbo o predvojaški vzgoji, ki je v 5. členu predvidevala tudi možnost usposabljanja državljanek za strokovne in tehnične službe.⁴⁵ Leta 1952 je zvezno ministrstvo za obrambo izvenarmadno vzgojo ženske kmečke mladine določilo za obvezno. Zanj je pooblastilo Centralni odbor Jugoslovanskega Rdečega križa, ki je formiral komisijo, ki je vključevala tudi predstavnike Jugoslovanske ljudske armade (JLA), Protivariantske zaščite (PAZ) in zdravstvene stroke. Komisija je sklenila, da bodo glavne teme tečajev RK za zdravstveno prosvetljenje kmečke ženske mladine⁴⁶ osebna, hišna in mentalna higiena, nega bolnika, otroška prehrana, prva pomoč in druge zdravstvene teme – tudi priprava na materinstvo.⁴⁷ Ugotavljali so namreč, da »iz naših šol še vedno prihajajo dekleta, ki doraščajo v zrele žene, ne da bi imela kakršno koli znanje predvsem iz nege dojenčka.«⁴⁸

Tečaji so bili za dekleta stara 17 in 18 let obvezni. Namenjeni so bili predvsem dekletom na podeželju, so pa ponekod tečaje obiskovala tudi dekleta, ki so bila zaposlena v industriji.⁴⁹ Tečaji so obsegali dva letnika, pouk pa se je odvijal večinoma od novembra do marca. Po navodilih Glavnega odbora RKS vsem okrajnim in mestnim odborom RKS naj bi potekal pouk v prvem letu 3 ure in v drugem 2 uri tedensko. Glavni odbor je za termin predavanj predlagal nedeljske dopoldneve. Tečaji naj bi se organizirali v okolju osnovnih šol, predavatelji, ki so na uro prejeli 100 din honorarja, naj bi bili zdravstveni delavci, v primeru, da jih ni bilo, pa so jih lahko nadomestili prosvetni delavci.⁵⁰

V letih 1952 in 1953 je tečaje obiskovalo 228.414 jugoslovanskih deklet,⁵¹ do konca zime 1955/56 pa je tečaj v LRS zajel skoraj 30.000 deklet.⁵² Le-tista, ki so obiskovala tečaj v prvih letih, so se izognila izpitom. Nato so morale vse udeleženske za pridobitev potrdila o zaključenem tečaju opraviti izpit. Uvedbo preverjanja znanja so zaradi želje po izboljšanju discipline in učnih rezultatov predlagali že leta 1953.⁵³ Sprva so načrtovali le preverjanje znanja po končanem drugem letniku, nato pa so se odločili za preverjanje znanja na koncu obeh letnikov. Pri izpitih pogosto niso upoštevali, da so dekleta tečaje obiskovale zaradi praktičnega znanja, in so njihovo znanje ocenjevali prestrogo: »Dekleta so se pripravljala na te izpite celo ponoči, kakor pred kakšno veliko maturo.«⁵⁴ Z izpitom se delo deklet na področju zdravstva ni zaključilo, od njih se je pričakovalo, da bodo postale aktivistke RKS ter da bodo širile zdravstveno vzgojo v domačem okolju.⁵⁵

Vsebina tečajev

Vsebina tečajev se je spreminjala. Na začetku so se dekleta v okviru tečajev podučila o higieni, epidemio-logiji, prvi pomoči ter negi in prehrani zdravega otroka in dojenčka.⁵⁶ Nato so program nekoliko spremenili. Večji poudarek je bil na anatomiji in fiziologiji ženskih spolovil (menstruacija, zanositev, nosečnost, porod, doba otročnice, splav, neplodnost) (Reja, 1955), skrbi za zdravje otroka pred spočetjem, skrbi za matere

41 ARS-1821, 3, Oblike izobraževanja v gospodinski stroki.

42 ARS-1800, 48, 445, Učni načrt za kmetijske in gospodarske šole.

43 Več o njeni vlogi pri izobraževanju v Jeraj, 2012, 473.

44 ARS-1821, 4, 13, 10, Zdravstveno prosvetljenje in vzgoja družine. Več o delovanju organizacije Rdečega križa na Slovenskem v Kerec, 2019.

45 Uradni list FLRJ, 2. 6. 1945: Uredba o predvojaški vzgoji, 596–597.

46 ARS-1800, 39, 401, Izvenarmadna vzgoja kmečke ženske mladine, 11. 8. 1952.

47 ARS-1800, 7, 24, Predkongresno poročilo Zveze društev za zaščito otrok v Jugoslaviji.

48 ARS-1821, 3, Pošolsko izobraževanje, Zdravstvena prosveta kmečke žene.

49 ARS-616, 1, Okraj Ljubljana okolica 1950–1955, Zapisnik posvetovanja predavateljev tečajev vaške kmečke mladine, 31. januar 1953.

50 ARS-1800, 39, 401, Izvenarmadna vzgoja kmečke ženske mladine, 11. 8. 1952.

51 ARS-1800, 7, 24, Predkongresno poročilo Zveze društev za zaščito otrok v Jugoslaviji.

52 ARS-1821, 4, 11, Današnje naloge RK in njegovi kadri.

53 ARS-616, 1, Okraj Ljubljana okolica 1950–1955, Zapisnik posvetovanja predavateljev tečajev vaške kmečke mladine, 31. 1. 1953.

54 ARS-1821, 3, Pošolsko izobraževanje, O zdravstveno prosvetnih tečajih Rdečega križa.

55 ARS-616, 2, 1, Potrdilo ob opravljenem tečaju.

56 ARS-1800, 39, 401, Izvenarmadna vzgoja kmečke ženske mladine, 11. 8. 1952.

in otroke v Federativni ljudski republiki Jugoslaviji (FLRJ), negi in prehrani zdravega otroka, prvi pomoči bolnemu otroku in negi malega bolnika. Obravnavali pa so se še prehrano, dietetiko in mentalno higieno.⁵⁷ Tečaj je poleg teoretičnega dela vseboval tudi praktični del. Pri negi dojenčkov so npr. predvidevali tudi naslednje praktične vaje: prerez popkovine, kopanje novorojenčka, nega popkovine, kopanje in oblačenje dojenčka, skrb za dojenčkovo ležišče ter ureditev otroške sobe ali otroškega kotička v sobi staršev.⁵⁸

Ob koncu obravnavanega obdobja so v program tečajev vključili tudi vzgojo za zakon, saj je slednja postajala vedno pomembnejša. Leta 1954 je program že vseboval 5 teoretičnih ur vzgoje za zakon in družino.⁵⁹ Pomembna je ostala tudi leta 1957, ko so na podlagi evalvacije tečajev program prilagodili. Drugo leto tečaja je bilo tako po novem programu namenjeno zakonu in družini (zakon in družinsko življenje, nosečnost, porod, nega in prehrana dojenčka, skrb za predšolskega in šolskega otroka).⁶⁰ Ob koncu obdobja pa so se pričeli posluževati tudi različnih učil. Tako so uporabljali diafilme na temo menstruacije, zanositve in poroda.⁶¹ Kljub prodoru teh novosti pa so v obravnavanem obdobju kot glavna učila prevladovali tiskani mediji. Podporo so nudili tako tečajem RKS kot prej opisanim oblikam vzgoje. Prebivalci so lahko nasvete o starševstvu našli v revijah (npr. Naša žena, Kmečka žena, Priroda, človek in zdravje, Otrok in družina) in časopisju.⁶² Pomemben delež pri širjenju informacij o zakonskem življenju, spolnosti in starševstvu pa so prinašale tudi brošure in knjige,⁶³ ki so se znašle na seznamih obvezne in priporočene literature.

USPEŠNOST OPISANIH METOD

Ob pregledovanju metod, ki so jih uporabljali za prosvetljenje žensk, se nam porodi vprašanje, v kolikšni meri so bili takšni načini in vsebine uspešni. Arhivsko gradivo

nam prikazuje ambivalentnost situacije. Statistični podatki nam npr. kažejo, da se je strokovna porodna pomoč zvišala. Tako je leta 1952 kar 85 % porodnic v LRS rodilo s pomočjo zdravstvenega osebja, kar je močno presegalo jugoslovansko povprečje.⁶⁴ Leta 1952 je namreč le 33,71 %⁶⁵ porodnic v Jugoslaviji rodilo pod nadzorom strokovno usposobljenega osebja.⁶⁶

Znotraj strokovne pomoči se je občutno dvignil tudi odstotek porodnic, ki so rodile v zdravstvenih ustanovah. Leta 1955 je bilo v LRS npr. strokovne pomoči deležnih že 98,27 % porodnic – od tega jih je kar 60 % rodilo v zdravstvenih ustanovah. Posledično se je zmanjšala tudi umrljivost porodnic ob porodu – leta 1949 je na 100 porodov znašala 0,15, leta 1954 pa 0,04. Zniževala se je tudi umrljivost dojenčkov, leta 1954 je npr. znašala 5,52 %. Kljub padcu pa je ostajal problem, ker se je umrljivost zmanjšala predvsem na račun strmega padca števila umrlih dojenčkov starejših od 1 meseca. Umrljivost dojenčkov v prvem mesecu življenja pa je bila še vedno visoka (Bole, 1956, 119–123).

Da je vzgoja za zdravo in odgovorno materinstvo ostajala problem, je opozorila tudi analiza stanja, ki jo je pripravila AFŽ leta 1953.⁶⁷ V njej se je izkazalo, da so ženske zaradi nezadostne informiranosti, slabih higienskih razmer, nedostopnosti zdravstvenih storitev, revščine, obremenjenosti ter vraževerja in navezanosti na tradicijo v času nosečnosti, poroda ali po njem z neprimernimi dejanji še vedno škodovali sebi in otroku. Tako je v Ambrusu le malo žensk v času menstruacije uporabljalo podloge ter se izdatneje umivalo.⁶⁸ Podobno je bilo tudi v Gorjušah, kjer so se še držale starega načela, da se v času menstruacije ne smejo umivati.⁶⁹ Poleg neprimerne skrbi za lastno telo v času menstruacije so sekretarke opazale tudi neprimerno ravnanje v času nosečnosti. V nekaterih krajih se npr. tudi v času visoke nosečnosti niso mogle izogniti napornemu delu: »Nekatere proti koncu nosečnosti še bolj delajo, da s tem pred taščo nekako nadomestijo čas, ko bodo ob

57 ARS-1821, 3, Pošolsko izobraževanje, O zdravstveno prosvetnih tečajih Rdečega križa.

58 ARS-616, 2, 5, Navodila za praktične vaje na tečajih Jugoslovanskega Rdečega križa za zdravstveno vzgojo vaše mladine.

59 ARS-616, 2, 5, Zdravstvenoprosvetni tečaji, 5. 11. 1954.

60 ARS-250, 49, 1066, Plan in program za kurseve seoske ženske omladine.

61 ARS-616, 4, Plan dela komisije za zdravstveno vzgojo za leto 1960.

62 ARS-1821, 4, 15, 74, Zdravstvena zaščita matere in otroka.

63 Programi opisanih vzgojnih oblik so npr. predlagali sledeče knjige Pertl, 1950; Avčin, 1948; Jerina, 1946.

64 V letu 1944 je v porodnišnicah in bolnišnicah LRS rodilo manj kot 10 % vseh porodnic, v letu 1953 pa je 54 % (ARS-1821, 1, 37, Poročilo o problematiki zaščite matere in novorojenčka v LRS).

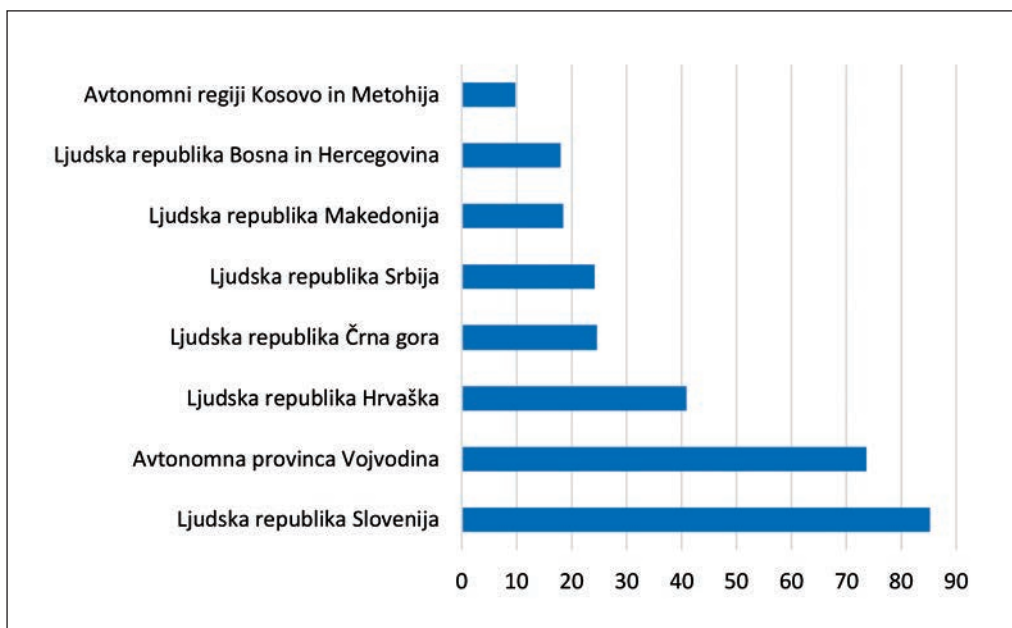
65 Od tega jih je 59 % rodilo v zdravstvenih zavodih, 41 % pa s pomočjo babic.

66 ARS-1821, 1, 2, Protection and education of children in Yugoslavia.

67 Vpogled v razmere nam podaja raziskava, ki jo je v pripravi na septembrski kongres AFŽ Jugoslavije leta 1953 izvedel Glavni odbor AFŽ Slovenije. Odgovore na anketne vprašalnike o položaju žensk v družini in družbi so ponekod pripravili na krajnih posvetovanjih, za manjše kraje pa so jih po obisku terena pripravile občinske sekretarke. Glavni odbor je do konca avgusta 1953 prejel preko 40 odgovorov (ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Pismo Okrajnega odbora AFŽ Krško Glavnemu odboru AFŽ LRS, 27. 7. 1953; ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Pismo Okrajnega odbora Kočevje Glavnemu odboru AFŽ Slovenije, 25. 7. 1953). Vpogled v intimo ponuja tudi anketa o gospodinjstvih, ki jo je Glavni odbor AFŽ Slovenije izvedel leta 1952 (ARS-1800, 41, 418).

68 ARS-1800, 41, 418, Anketna vprašanja za Ambrus v Suhi Krajini.

69 ARS-1800, 41, 418, Anketna vprašanja in odgovori za vas Gorjuše.



Graf 2: Odstotek porodov, ki so potekali s pomočjo zdravstvenih delavcev po posameznih jugoslovanskih republikah in avtonomnih pokrajinah leta 1952.⁷⁰

porodu ležale.«⁷¹ Poročila vsebujejo tudi opise porodnih navad, ki so bile še vedno prežete s sledovi preteklosti:⁷² »Verujejo še vedno v bajke, da žena, ki je porodnica mora biti v temi, da ji živci ne prenesejo svetlobnih žarkov, isto tako mora otrok spati v temi z zaprtimi okni, da ne pride zrak ali veter, da se pri tem otrok ne bi prehladil.«⁷³ Podoben problem je bil izpostavljen tudi na seji Komisije za množične organizacije pri CK KPS: »čeprav se Slovenci ponašamo s svojo stopnjo kulturnega nivoja napram ostalim narodom naše države, imamo na vasi še nebroj primerov vraževerja in mazaštva, /n.pr. porodnicam dajejo priti kuhano kravje blato, da bo lažje rodila; vržejo preko nje umazane plenice itd./ zlasti ob porodih.«⁷⁴

Zakaj je bilo temu tako, kljub temu da je na terenu nastalo kar nekaj ustanov namenjenih zaščiti mater in otrok⁷⁵ in so potekala številna predavanja in tečaji, nam ponovno odgovarja statistika. Leta 1956 so npr. posvetovalnice za nosečnice dosegle le slabo tretjino nosečnic, v delo otroških dispanzerjev/posvetovalnic pa je bil zajet vsak 3. otrok. Slednje je bilo, po besedah

Cite Bole, posledica tega, da se je zdravstvena služba marsikod šele vzpostavljala, pri tem pa se je spopadala s posledicami vojne, zaostalostjo, množičnim vključevanjem žensk v delovni proces ter pomanjkanjem strokovnega kadra. Slednji je bil pogosto preobremenjen, primanjkovalo pa mu je tudi pedagoških kompetenc. Tako so bila ponekod predavanja preveč teoretična in slušatelji pridobljenega znanja niso znali prenesti v prakso. Verjetno največji problem pa je bil, kot je ugotavljala Cita Bole, podcenjevanje preventivne službe tako med zdravstvenim osebjem kot med prebivalstvom (Bole, 1956, 117–121).

Podobne težave so imeli tudi izvajalci tečajev RKS. V nekaterih delih Slovenije se tečaji niso izvajali, ker odbori niso bili aktivni oz. občinski ljudski odbori RK potencialnih izvajalcev tečajev (zdravniki, učitelji, babice, medicinske sestre) sploh niso pozvali k izvedbi tečaja.⁷⁶ Ponekod je primanjkovalo ustrezno usposobljenih predavateljev, drugod učil (anatomskih slik, priročnikov), v nekaterih krajih pa je izobraževanje potekalo na neustrezen način. Zgodilo se je, da se nekateri predavatelji

⁷⁰ Graf je nastal na podlagi poročila ARS-1821, 1, 2, Protection and education of children in Yugoslavia.

⁷¹ ARS-1800, 41, 418, Anketna o stanju v vasi Ižakovci, 15. oktober 1952.

⁷² Več o navadah pri porodih in skrbi za otroka v 19. stoletju na Slovenskem v Puhar, 2004.

⁷³ ARS-1800, 41, 418, Hribovske vasi.

⁷⁴ ARS-1589, 35, 966, Zapisnik seje komisije za množične organizacije pri CK KPS, 13. 6. 1952.

⁷⁵ Leta 1956 je bilo ustanov za zaščito matere in nerojenega otroka 58, iz poročil pa ni jasno, ali je šlo za dispanzerje za žene ali zgolj za posvetovalnice za nosečnice. V njih je leta 1954 delalo 17 specialistov, 43 splošnih zdravnikov, 49 medicinskih sester in 58 babic (Bole, 1956, 127). Istega leta je delovalo tudi 20 otroških dispanzerjev ter 280 posvetovalnic (Bole, 1956, 120–121).

⁷⁶ ARS- 616, 1, Okraj Ljubljana okolica 1950–1955, Zapisnik posvetovanja predavateljev tečajev vaške kmečke mladine, 31. 1. 1953.

niso prilagodili stopnji izobraženosti poslušalk.⁷⁷ Tako so npr. nepismenim poslušalkam⁷⁸ snov kar narekovali, kar je seveda zmanjševalo zanimivost tečaja. Prihajalo je tudi do združevanja tečaja s tečaji drugih organizacij, kar je pogosto privedlo ravno do zanemarjanja snovi s področja zdravstva.⁷⁹ Težavo so predstavljali tudi izostanki tečajnic, nekatere tečajeve niso obiskovale, ker so bile zaposlene oz. jim vsebina še ni bila blizu: »Dekleta še nimajo zavesti, da je važno, da so zdrava, [...] zato je treba poiskati motive, ki jih privlačijo npr. da bodo lepa, da bodo ugajala fantom in podobno.«⁸⁰ Drugim pa so obiskovanje tečajev prepovedali starši zaradi različnih razlogov. Na udaru je bila predvsem spolna vzgoja, tako je npr. poročevalec iz lga poročal, da starši dekletom ne pustijo brati knjige o spolnih boleznih, ki je bila sicer na uradnem seznamu literature.⁸¹

Če so za nekatere informacije prišle prehitro, ko o družini še niso razmišljali, pa so nekatere dosegle prepozno. Sekretarka iz Polenšaka je namreč poročala: »Med dečki, ki še hodijo k predvojaški vzgoji, so že očetje, in med deklicami, ki pri tečaju RK s smehljajem na obrazu poslušajo o negi novorojenčka, so noseče. Izmed 22 sta letos kar 2! V njunih primerih je sedaj tako, da prva ne ve točno, komu naj obesi očetovstvo, pri drugi pa tisti vojni obveznik odločno taji vsako zvezo z njo.«⁸²

FOKUSIRANJE NA ŽENSKO TER ZANEMARJANJE SPOLNE VZGOJE

Zgoraj navedene težave niso bile edine, ki so pestile vzgojo za starševstvo v prvem desetletju po drugi svetovni vojni. Pri predstavljenih programih opazimo še dve večji pomanjkljivosti. Prva je bila, da so se vsebinsko osredotočali predvsem na vzgojo za materinstvo (nosečnost, porod, nega otroka) in s tem zajeli zgolj ženske, čeprav bi bilo nujno, kot so opozarjali že

nekateri posamezniki, da bi se o teh temah podučili tudi moški.⁸³ Ugotovitev ne preseneča. Materinstvo je bilo namreč pogostejši predmet javnega diskurza, o njegovem pomenu so opozarjale že članice Komisije za delo med ženami pri Centralnem komiteju Komunistične partije Slovenije (CK KPS) leta 1946,⁸⁴ dve leti kasneje pa je materinstvo in vzgojo otrok za eno osrednjih nalog vsake ženske določil tudi Josip Broz - Tito (Jeraj, 2005, 131). Koncept dobre državljanke je tako, po besedah Nine Vodopivec, združeval tako delavko kot mater (Vodopivec, 2001, 71). Poleg tega pa je bila ženska tudi nosilka – prva vzgojiteljica – koncepta socialistične vzgoje, ki ga je v svojem govoru leta 1948 predstavil Tito (Jeraj, 2005, 132–133). Poleg tega so se starševski vlogi ženske težko izognile. Splav je bil namreč razen v izjemnih primerih prepovedan,⁸⁵ kontracepcija pa je še leta 1953 po mnenju Kongresa ginekologov Jugoslavije veljala za depopulacijsko početje.⁸⁶

Druga pomanjkljivost je bila prav tako vsebinske narave – in sicer pomanjkanje vzgoje za (odgovorno) spolnost. K temu je botrovalo dejstvo, da je družba še vedno dojemala spolnost v okviru tradicionalnih in konservativnih principov, ki naj bi jih sicer po besedah Wilhelma Reicha⁸⁷ socializem presejal (Reich, 1984, 81–85). Da so ideje teoretikov o spolnosti⁸⁸ počasi stopale v prakso, nam razkriva že vsebina priročnika Mati in dete, ki ga je leta 1946 izdal AFŽ. V slednjem so sicer poudarjali, da je zadovoljevanje spolnega nagona pravica spolno zrele osebe, vendar so istočasno kot prvi in glavni namen spolnih odnosov izpostavili spočetje. V skladu s tem so bila tudi kontracepcijska sredstva, ki so bila označena za nezanesljiva in nenaravna, odsvetovana (Jerina, 1946, 13–14).

Določeno mero konservativizma je mogoče zaslediti tudi v diskurzu o spolnosti mladih, predvsem tisti, ki ni imela cilja v spočetju. Mladim so tako npr. pripisovali

77 ARS-1821, 3, Pošolsko izobraževanje, O zdravstveno prosvetnih tečajih Rdečega križa.

78 ARS-616, 1, Okraj Ljubljana okolica 1950–1955, Zapisnik posvetovanja predavateljev tečajev vaške kmečke mladine, 31. januar 1953.

79 ARS-1821, 3, Pošolsko izobraževanje, O zdravstveno prosvetnih tečajih Rdečega križa.

80 ARS-616, 4, 4, Zapisnik posveta zdravstveno prosvetne komisije OLO Kranj, 9. 10. 1958.

81 ARS-616, 1, 1, Okraj Ljubljana okolica 1950–1955, Zapisnik posvetovanja predavateljev tečajev vaške kmečke mladine, 31. januar 1953.

82 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Polenšak, 17. 8. t 1953.

83 ARS-616, 4, 4, Zapisnik posveta zdravstveno prosvetne komisije OLO Kranj, 9. 10. 1958.

84 ARS-1859, III, 35, 1049, Seja komisije za delo med ženami, 5. 9. 1946; ARS-1859, III, 35, 1026, II. seja ženske komisije, 1945.

85 Po drugi svetovni vojni je prva javna razprava o legalizaciji splava vzniknila ob pripravi določil novega kazenskega zakonika v letu 1949/50. Ideja o pravici vsake ženske do splava je bila sicer zatrta, je pa bilo sprejeto stališče, da olajšava položaja ženske, ki se znajde v takšni situaciji, ne predstavlja depopulacijske politike. Po načelih novega kazenskega zakonika so bili namreč kazensko preganjeni izvajalci splava, ženske pa ne. Novoustanovljene zdravniške komisije, pa so lahko splav odobrile iz medicinskih, pravnih in zdravstveno-socialnih indikacij. S tem debate o upravičenosti žensk do regulacije porodov niso bile zaključene. Že leta 1953 je namreč Kongres ginekologov Jugoslavije zahteval kazenski pregon ženske, ki opravi splav, kontracepcijo pa označil kot depopulacijski ukrep (ARS-537, 1487, 2302, Pregled nad razvojem prevencije splava v LRS.) Več o zakonskih spremembah glede prekinitve nosečnosti v Rožman, 2009 in 2011.

86 ARS-537, 1487, 2302, Pregled nad razvojem prevencije splava v LRS.

87 Wilhelm Reich, marksistični psihoanalitik ter seksolog, je v obdobju med obema vojnima v svojih delih spodbujal aktivno spolnost, kontracepcijo ter zagovarjal splav. Ukvarjal se je tudi s posledicami zavrtega spolnega nagona. Zaradi nekonvencionalnosti in kontroverznosti so bila njegova dela cenzurirana, javnost pa se je zanje pričela ponovno zanimati v 60. in 70. letih 20. stoletja (Reich, 1985, 321).

88 Socialistična Jugoslavija in s tem tudi Slovenija sta se pri urejanju odnosov med spoloma naslanjali na marksistično teorijo, predvsem dela Karla Marxa, Friedricha Engelsa in Augusta Bebla, ki pa so slonela na nekaterih idejah utopičnega socializma (Jeraj, 2005, 39).

spolno izživiljanje,⁸⁹ razuzdanost,⁹⁰ neresne ljubezenske odnose,⁹¹ in spolno pokvarjenost.⁹² Takšne oznake so pretirane, bolj korektno bi bilo v tem obdobju govoriti o nepodučenosti oz. neprimerni podučenosti mladih o spolnosti, kar nam kažejo že poročila sekretark AFŽ iz leta 1953. V Rimskih Toplicah je npr. sproščen odnos do spolnosti pri odraslih, ki izkazovanja čustev pred mladimi niso skrivali, povzročil, »da otroci kajkmalu dozorijo in imamo primere, da še v otroški dobi skušajo spolno se združevati.«⁹³ Obratno je bilo v Borovnici, kjer naj bi po poročilu sekretarke AFŽ tabuiranost spolnosti oteževala spolno vzgojo. Veljalo je namreč za sramotno, da bi se mati s hčerjo oz. oče s sinom pogovorila o vprašanju spolnosti. Posledično so nalogo spolne vzgoje starši v Borovnici na roditeljskih sestankih prelagali na šole.⁹⁴ Takšen odnos do spolne vzgoje, nevednost ter nedostopnost oz. nezanesljivost kontracepcije so botrovali velikemu številu nezaželenih nosečnosti in ilegalnih splavov,⁹⁵ saj mladi (in tudi drugi) pogosto niso bili pripravljeni prevzeti posledic spolnih odnosov: »Nova družina se ustvarja na majavih temeljih. Mladostniki, ki jih težijo prezgodnje očetovske skrbi, ki jim dom ni položil gospodarskega temelja, ki jih veže kadrovske rok, res niso v stanju vzdrževati nastajajoče družine.«⁹⁶

ZAKLJUČEK

V raziskavi se je pokazalo, da je tako kot drugod po Evropi ter ZDA in Sovjetski zvezi tudi v Sloveniji v letih po drugi svetovni vojni koncept spolne vzgoje obsegal predvsem vzgojo za zakon in družino. Oblike so bile različne, šlo je za skupinske in individualne ter formalne in neformalne oblike, ki so večinoma vse zajemale podobne tematike: osnove zakonskega in družinskega življenja, higiena ženskega telesa, nosečnost in porod, nega dojenčka itd. Izkazalo se je, da so se z vzgojo za starševstvo večinoma ukvarjale družbeno politične organizacije in zdravstvena služba, v manjši meri pa tudi šolstvo. Njihov domet je bil različen – največjo akcijo je s tečaji za žensko vaško mladino sprožil Rdeči križ Slovenije – vsi pa so se srečevali s podobnimi težavami, npr. pomanjka-

njem oz. neusposobljenostjo kadra, podcenjevanjem preventive, pomanjkanjem učil, nenaklonjenostjo delodajalcev, staršev in tudi oseb, ki so jim bile te oblike namenjene. Kljub težavam so dosegli nekaj pozitivnih učinkov – mortaliteta in morbiditeta otrok in porodnic sta se zmanjšala – še vedno pa je vzgoja za starševstvo predstavljala velik izziv. Kot največji pomanjkljivosti sta se izkazala osredotočenost vzgoje samo na ženske – bolj kot vzgoja za starševstvo je bila namreč vzgoja za materinstvo – ter pomanjkanje informacij o spolnosti. To je pripeljalo do vedno glasnejših vprašanj povezanih s spolnostjo, ki so v drugi polovici 50. let postajala vedno bolj aktualna in so presegala v prvem desetletju zastavljeno vzgojo za materinstvo. Prvo med njimi je bilo vprašanje preoblikovanja koncepta vzgoje za materinstvo v koncept vzgoje za starševstvo, ki naj bi vključeval tudi moške.⁹⁷ Prvi začetek t. i. vzgoje fantov za očetovstvo je bila predvojaška vzgoja. Vanjo so leta 1956 po sporazumu med Glavnim odborom RKS in Komisijo za predvojaško vzgojo dodali tudi vzgojo fantov za zakon in družino.⁹⁸ Starševstvo je s tem lahko postajalo, kot je zapisal Reinhard Sieder, veliko bolj reflektirano, psihologizirano in odgovorno (Sieder, 1998, 279). Istega leta je bil narejen pomemben korak tudi na področju spolne vzgoje, ki predstavlja drugo vprašanje. Postala je namreč eden od smotrov splošnega izobraževanja. Zavod za napredek šolstva je zato skupaj z Zvezo prijateljev mladine Slovenije izdal priročnik za spolno vzgojo v osnovni šoli.⁹⁹ Poleg spolne vzgoje in vzgoje za starševstvo pa je postajalo vedno bolj pereče tudi vprašanje regulacije rojstev. Zaradi visokega števila splavov in nezaželenih nosečnosti je kongres ginekologov Jugoslavije leta 1955 spremenil svoje mnenje in kontracepcijo proglasili kot edino profilaktično metodo.¹⁰⁰ Posledično so v Sloveniji osnovali tudi prve posvetovalnice za kontracepcijo, vodstvo ljubljanske klinike za ginekologijo in porodništvo pa je dalo pobudo za izdelovanje kontracepcijskih sredstev za ženske.¹⁰¹ S tem je nastopil začetek novega obdobja, v katerem so bili dani pogoji za korenito spremembo dojemanja spolnosti.

89 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Občinski odbor Škofja vas, 4. 8. 1953.

90 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Zabukovje, 10. 8. 1953.

91 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Občinski odbor Bohinjska Bistrica.

92 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Predgrad, 12. 8. 1953.

93 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Občinski odbor AFŽ Rimske Toplice, 7. 8. 1953.

94 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Občina Borovnica, 7. 8. 1953.

95 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Občinski odbor Bohinjska Bistrica.

96 ARS-1800, 48, 444, Odgovori na vprašanja ankete, Polenšak, 17. 8. 1953.

97 ARS-1821, 4, 13, 10. Zdravstveno prosvetljenje in vzgoja družine.

98 ARS-616, 3, 5, Okrožnica št. 15.

99 ARS-537, 1487, 2302, Informacija o spolni vzgoji.

100 ARS-537, 1487, 2302, Pregled nad razvojem prevencije splava v LRS.

101 ARS-537, 439, Gibanje za načrtovanje družine in spolna vzgoja v Sloveniji v minutih 15 letih in akcijski program za obdobje 1970–1975.

PARENTHOOD EDUCATION IN SLOVENIA IN THE PERIOD 1945–1955

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SUMMARY

By analysing various archival material, the article discusses parenthood education in Slovenia from the end of World War II to the mid-1950s. It was mostly intended for women – as preparation for motherhood – and was part of the socialist concept of mother and child healthcare. In the post-war times with a high infant mortality rate, this healthcare concept focused greatly on prevention. Consequently, the health education of women took place at different medical and educational institutions; organisations also contributed significantly, especially the Slovenian Red Cross and the Women's Antifascist Front of Slovenia. Women were prepared for motherhood through various lectures, seminars and courses organised by healthcare and educational professionals. The most prominent courses were those held by the Red Cross for young rural women. The media also provided guidance – mostly in books, daily newspapers and magazines. A smaller proportion of these efforts also focused on sex education. As in the case of the inclusion of men in parenthood education and the regulation of childbirth, sex education likewise became important at the end of the period in question, when the conditions became favourable for a radical change in how sexuality was viewed.

Keywords: health education, sex education, motherhood, Slovenia, Yugoslavia, Slovenian Red Cross, Women's Antifascist Front of Slovenia

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- ARS-250** – ARS, Svet za šolstvo Ljudske republike Slovenije (fond 250).
- ARS-537** – ARS, Republiška konferenca Socialistične zveze delovnega ljudstva (fond 537).
- ARS-616** – ARS, Rdeči križ Slovenije (fond 616).
- ARS-1589** – ARS, Centralni komite Zveze komunistov Slovenije (fond 1589).
- ARS-1800** – ARS, Glavni odbor Antifašistične fronte žena Slovenije (fond 1800).
- ARS-1821** – ARS, Zveza ženskih društev Slovenije (fond 1821).
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GRADIN MED PRIPADNOSTJO SLOVENIJI IN HRVAŠKI

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IZVLEČEK

V prispevku je predstavljeno spreminjanje meje med Slovenijo in Hrvaško v okolici Gradina. Kljub temu, da se je večina prebivalstva izrekla za priključitev k Sloveniji, so bili leta 1947 kraji priključeni okraju Buzet oziroma Ljudski republiki Hrvaški. Junija 1955 je po izkazani želji večine prebivalstva, da naj bi bili ti kraji vključeni v Ljudsko republiko Slovenija, slovenska vlada predlagala vladi Hrvaške spremembo meje. Po dogovoru med republikama je nato leta 1956 prišlo do spremembe meje. To je bil edini primer, ko je bila v času Jugoslavije sprememba meje med Slovenijo in Hrvaško potrjena na ustavno predpisani način.

Ključne besede: Slovenija, Hrvaška, slovensko-hrvaška meja, Gradin, Pregara, spreminjanje meje, mejno vprašanje

GRADENA: CONTESE TRA SLOVENIA E CROAZIA

SINTESI

Il presente saggio tratta i cambiamenti della linea di confine tra la Slovenia e la Croazia nei dintorni di Graden (Gradin). Benché la maggioranza degli abitanti avesse optato per l'adesione alla Slovenia, nel 1947 il territorio venne annesso al distretto di Pinguente (Buzet) nella Repubblica Popolare di Croazia. Nel giugno del 1955, dopo chiare espressioni di volontà della maggioranza della popolazione di voler essere annessi alla Repubblica Popolare di Slovenia, il governo sloveno propose al governo croato un formale cambiamento della linea di confine. L'accordo tra le due repubbliche, formalizzato nel 1956, rappresenta l'unico caso al tempo della Jugoslavia in cui il cambiamento della linea di confine tra la Slovenia e la Croazia venne confermato nel modo costituzionalmente prescritto.

Parole chiave: Slovenia, Croazia, confine sloveno-croato, Graden, Pregara, cambiamento della linea di confine, questione limitrofa

PREUČEVANJE SLOVENSKO-HRVAŠKE MEJE

Slovenija ima meje s štirimi sosednjimi državami, med temi pa je najdaljša meja z južno in vzhodno sosedo Hrvaško. Kljub temu, da je najdaljša, je bilo v preteklih obdobjih njenemu proučevanju posvečene najmanj raziskovalne pozornosti, saj so bila desetletja v ospredju vprašanja oblikovanja slovenske severne meje proti Avstriji in zahodne proti Italiji, v manjši meri pa še meje proti Madžarski. Slovenija in Hrvaška sta delili usodo nekdanje skupne države Jugoslavije. Slovenci in Hrvati so imeli po prvi svetovni vojni skupni cilj doseči čim ugodnejšo razmejitev proti Madžarski in po drugi vojni premik zahodne meje proti Italiji. Posledica skupnih zunanjepolitičnih ciljev je bila, da je meja med dvema federalnima enotama druge Jugoslavije ostala nedorečena, kar je po razpadu Jugoslavije odprlo nekatera nerešena vprašanja. Šele po osamosvojitvi obeh držav se je preučevanje odnosov in nastajanja meja med narodi in državami razširilo tudi na vprašanje slovensko-hrvaških odnosov in meje: Analize teh spoznanj so bile orisane v posameznih knjigah (Zajc, 2006; Darovec & Strčić, 2011), posvečeni so jim bili posveti, kot je bil npr. maja 2008 v Mariboru in katerega rezultat je bila še istega leta izdana dvojna tematska številka revije *Studia Historica Slovenica*, ali pa so bile te teme le del širše zasnovanih simpozijev (Gabrič, 2012). Zaradi razpršenosti gradiva, neuspešnosti reševanja mejnega vprašanja med Slovenijo in Hrvaško, ki je vodilo do arbitražnega sporazuma, in majhnega števila raziskovalcev, ki so se lotevali te naloge, so izsledki novih raziskav le počasi prihajali v strokovno javnost. Ker obsežno delo, ki je bilo pripravljeno za postopek določitve meje na stalnem arbitražnem sodišču v Haagu, (še) ni dosegljivo javnosti, je v strokovni literaturi še največ na enem mestu zbranega in objavljenega v zborniku *Ustvarjanje slovensko-hrvaške meje*, ki je izšel leta 2018 (Zajc, 2018). V njem so na sintetičen način, ob upoštevanju dotlej izdane literature in različnih arhivov pojasnjeni vplivi različnih državnih okvirov (habsburške monarhije in Jugoslavije), različnih dejavnikov in dvostranskih slovensko-hrvaških odnosov na oblikovanje meje.

Tudi pri proučevanju oblikovanja slovensko-hrvaške meje se je, kot npr. v primerih oblikovanja slovensko-avstrijske ali slovensko-italijanske meje, največ pozornosti usmerilo v točke, kjer so si bila stališča obeh sosed najbolj nasprotujoča in kjer so konflikti naleteli na precejšen odmev široke javnosti. Manj pozornosti pa je bilo posvečene točkam ob meji, kjer so bili nekdanji konflikti rešeni na sporazumen način in zato kasneje ni več prihajalo do napetosti in odkritih sporov. Težavo pri proučevanju tovrstnih sporov in razreševanja težav na lokalni ravni predstavlja slaba ohranjenost arhivskega gradiva, kar vodi v naslanjanje na nepreverjene govorice, ki običajno nosijo v ozadju

izrazite politične cilje. Pričujoči prispevek odstopa od prevladujoče sheme, saj je brskanje po arhivu prineslo na plan primarno gradivo lokalnih organov oblasti na kratkem delu meje, kjer je bilo po letu 1945 politično zelo vroče, a se je po spremembi meje položaj umiril in po osamosvojitvi Slovenije in Hrvaške ni prišlo do oživiljanja napetosti.

PRED PRIKLJUČITVIJO JUGOSLAVIJI

Gradin je mala vas v Slovenski Istri z burno zgodovino. V zadnjih dveh stoletjih je pogosto menjala državne okvire. Najprej je bila del Avstrije oz. Avstro-Ogrske, nato Kraljevine Italije, po podpisu mirovne pogodbe z Italijo februarja 1947 pa je prišla v okvir Jugoslavije. Na razočaranje prebivalcev so jo dodelili Hrvaški, kasneje pa je – kot edini primer spremembe meje med Slovenijo in Hrvaško po dogovorni poti – prišla v Slovenijo. Danes je del Mestne občine Koper, do Hrvaške pa jo loči le kratek sprehod.

Pogosto menjavanje meje na tem območju se odraža tudi v krajevnem imenu, saj je vas v zadnjih dveh stoletjih v dokumentih zapisana na zelo različne načine, od Gradina, Gradigna, Gradena, Gradinja do imena Gradin, ki velja tudi danes. Burnost prehajanja iz enega v drugi državni okvir ni bila značilna izključno za Gradin, temveč tudi za okoliške vasi in zaselke. Pogosto so bile kot problematične za razmejitev skupaj omenjene Gradin, Pregara in Črnica, a se je pri težavah, ki so nastajale, največkrat omenjal Gradin in je tudi v strokovni literaturi to ime postalo sinonim za več vasi in zaselkov v okolici, ki so postali po priključitvi k Jugoslaviji kamen spotike pri določanju slovensko-hrvaške meje (Krajevni, 1968, 131; Gabrič, 2019, 83–86).

Ekonomsko gledano gre za zaostalo kmečko okolje, ki po kilometrih sicer niti ni tako oddaljeno od večjih središč. Zaradi zelo slabih povezav, zgolj zasilnih cest, je bilo dejansko dokaj odročno, zapostavljeno in so ga modernizacijski procesi zaobšli. Z večjimi kraji v oklici so jih povezovali zasilni kolovozi, elektrika ali vodovod sta bila še neznani dobrini. V bližnje večje kraje so ponujali viške domačih kmetijskih pridelkov, sadja, živinorejskih produktov, tudi divjadi. Nekdaj so več trgovali tudi z lesom. Glede kakovostnejših proizvodov pa je bilo v ospredju vinogradništvo, zlasti refošk. Proti koncu 20. stoletja se je kot prodajni artikel, ki dosega visoko ceno, uveljavil še tartuf (Krajevni, 1968, 125–147; Medica, 2006, 50; Pucer, 2005).

Jezikovno so prebivalce Gradina in okoliških vasi že od prvih poskusov določanja slovensko-hrvaške jezikovne meje v Istri v drugi polovici 19. stoletja umeščali ravno na mejo, enkrat s poudarkom na slovenskem, drugič na hrvaškem jeziku. Zaradi jezikovne mešanice, istrskih posebnosti, mešane narodne strukture je bilo natančno jezikovno mejo skorajda nemogoče določiti (Ostaneck, 1991, 215–217). Narodna identiteta

ni bila izoblikovana, domačini pa so se še daleč v 20. stoletje opredeljevali tudi ali pa predvsem po regionalni pripadnosti in ko »se za šankom razmišlja o identiteti«, je bilo pogosto slišati: »Najprej sem Istrijan, šele potem Slovenec« (Medica, 2006, 50). Prebivalci širšega območja so se še pred vojno bolj šteli za Istrane in Čiče, močnejšo razmejevanje na Slovence in Hrvate je prinesla šele druga svetovna vojna, po razpadu Jugoslavije pa so prihajali na plan različni zgodovinski miti o »slovenskosti« oziroma »hrvaškosti« ozemlja v preteklosti. Ko so domačine spraševali, zakaj se niso strinjali s priključitvijo k Hrvaški, so bolj kot o etničnih razlagali o ekonomskih vzrokih. Na vprašanje, ali se niso upirali, ker so se čutili Slovence, pa je krajan, rojen leta 1913, odvrnil:

Ki zna kaj smo bli. Jaz son se rodu Josip, tu je hrvatsko ime, klicali so me Pepi, po taljansko, i zdey so Jože, ma narveć me je pijažila Italija. Smo imeli hrvatskega župnika, učitelja, tle je bla prej Italija, son bil taljanski vojak. Ki zna kaj smo bli. Ma zdey, ja zdey, smo Slovenci, ker tu je sada Slovenija. So nas priključili nazaj leta 1956, ma vse do sendesetih let smo bili pod faro u Zrenju na hrvatski strani. Starejši še zmeron molimo u hrvatskem jeziku (Rožac Darovec, 2015, 495).

Med drugo svetovno vojno sta slovensko in hrvaško osvobodilno gibanje na tem območju nekaj časa zgleddo sodelovali, po kapitulaciji Italije pa so se pojavila trenja, kdo naj bo pristojen za vasi v notranjosti Istre. V začetku leta 1944 so razmejili pristojnosti med enim in drugim, za mejo pa določili reko Dragonjo. Gradin in okoliške vasi so po tej razmejitvi prišli pod slovensko upravo (Godeša, 2018, 151–161). Po kasnejšem zapisu (za katerega nisem našel potrditve v arhivskem gradivu) naj bi slovenske partizanske enote na tem območju leta 1944 izvedle glasovanje, na katerem naj bi se približno 90 % udeležencev izreklo za priključitev k Sloveniji.¹ Julij Beltram, pomemben slovenski politični delavec na osvobojenem ozemlju Primorske, je dosti kasneje zapisal, da je med vojno dobro delovala mreža odborov OF: »Na tem področju je delovalo 7 krajevnih (ali vaških) odborov OF, volitve v NOO 1944. leta so bile plebiscitarno za OF, samo nekaj trgovcev pa kak duhovnik, kot Slavko Kalac iz Gradina, so bili proti« (Beltram, 1986, 112). Sodelovanje s hrvaškimi enotami naj bi bilo po Beltramovi oceni dobro in pristno, čeprav najdemo tudi kakšno drugačno mnenje. Prebivalci teh krajev so se večinoma vključili v slovenski partizanski Istrski odred. Beltram torej, za razliko od nekaterih drugih spominskih virov ne omenja referendum za Slovenijo leta 1944,

temveč da je možno volitve v narodnoosvobodilne odbore (NOO) razumeti kot pripadnost slovenskemu odporniškemu gibanju in s tem tudi Sloveniji.

Vsekakor so lokalni politični in vojaški funkcionarji ob razdeljevanju pristojnosti nad ozemljem po narodnostnem načelu območje Gradina in okolice prištevali pod slovenski del. Milan Guček, ki je sodeloval pri pogovorih s slovenske strani, je poročal Znanstvenemu inštitutu pri Predsedstvu Slovenskega narodno osvobodilnega sveta, ki je pripravljaj predloge za mejne zahteve Slovenije po vojni, da na terenu ni ostrega prehoda med slovenskim in hrvaškim narodnostnim ozemljem (Čepič, 1999, 211–213). Gradin in okolica so bili, kot preostalo Slovensko Primorje, v zadnjem obdobju vojne in neposredno po njej večkrat teritorialno preoblikovani, toda od vzpostavitve narodnoosvobodilnih odborov pa do podpisa mirovne pogodbe z Italijo je bilo območje vključeno v slovenske okraje s središčem severno od Gradina (Marin, 1992, 162–166). Kot ozemlje s slovenskim prebivalstvom so jih obravnavale tudi povojne oblasti in ustanove, npr. Frontno gledališče, ki je poleti 1945 na turneji po osvobojeni Primorski igralo v majhnih krajih od Portoroža do Gradina.² V kraju je bil aktiven odbor Osvobodilne fronte, ki je skupaj z mladinsko organizacijo pripravljaj udarniške akcije, s katerimi naj bi izboljšali prometne povezave proti slovenski obali.

Najbolj odmeven politični dogodek pa je bilo množično zborovanje, ki so ga domačini pripravili sredi junija 1946, kot protest proti delovanju župnika Kalaca, ki »je že dolgo vršil s prižnice besno kampanjo proti vsemu, kar je zgradila OF, ter se norčeval iz ljudske oblasti«. Zelo glasen je bil pri propagiranju proti udarniškemu delu, ki je na Primorskem po vojni še posebno cvetelo, sodu pa je izbila dno pridiga, v kateri naj bi Kalac »izjavil, da bo zvonilo tri dni, ko bo Istra priključena k neki drugi državi«. Kalac je pred ljudskim besom pobegnil iz Gradina, domačini pa so obljubljali, da mu ne bodo več dovolili vrnitve. Mati padlega partizana je ob tem omenila, da župnika ni nikoli slišala, da bi zmolil kakšen očenaš za njihove padle sinove.³ Kalac se je sprva zatekel v Trst k škofu Santinu, ko pa se je mesec dni kasneje presenetljivo vrnil in hotel vnovič imeti mašo, so domačini demonstrativno zapustili cerkev, obnovili demonstracije in dosegli, da je moral župnik pod zaščito zapustiti vas, nato pa so ga še postavili pred sodišče. Kalac se je zagovarjal, da gre za nahujskano množico, toda številnost prič, ki je kazala nezadovoljstvo ovčic s svojim pastirjem, je vendarle v ospredje postavila župnikovo nenaklonjenost spremembam, ki je domačini niso razumeli

1 SI AS 223, š. 630, 184/55, Poročilo o razmejitvi med LR Slovenijo in LR Hrvatsko, Ljubljana, 12. 9. 1955.

2 Slovenski poročevalec, 14. 9. 1945, Turneja »Frontnega gledališča« po Istri, 6.

3 Ljudska pravica, 13. 6. 1946, Gradin – Istra. Nočemo fašističnih duhovnikov, 5.

samo kot nasprotovanje novim oblastem, pač pa tudi kot nasprotovanje novi državi.⁴ Da verjetno le ni šlo zgolj za demonstracije nahujskane množice, po svoje priča tudi poročilo v tržaškem Glasu zaveznikov, glasilu Zavezniške vojaške uprave v Coni A Julijske Krajine. To je le korektno povzelo poročilo iz *Ljudske pravice*, vzdržalo pa se je komentarjev v eno ali drugo stran.⁵

V času političnega boja za meje so bile prve poveljne mesece seveda v ospredju želje po priključitvi Jugoslaviji, ni pa se izpostavljala razlika med Slovenijo in Hrvaško. Krajevni ljudski odbor (KLO) Gradin je tako v sklopu resolucij, ki so jih v podporo jugoslovanskim zahtevam na pariški mirovni konferenci v Parizu pošiljali vodji jugoslovanske delegacije Edvardu Kardelju, zapisali:

Zbrani na sestanki v Gradinu, vam pošiljamo bratske pozdrave ter vas prosimo, da zastopate v Londonu tudi naše interese, da bomo za vedno priključeni k materi Jugoslaviji. To je želja nas vseh, ki smo ostali po težki borbi še živi, predvsem pa je to želja tistih, ki so dali svoja življenja za svobodo. Vemo, da boste na merodajnih mestih najboljši tolmač naših zahtev.⁶

V času mirovne konference v Parizu in določanja nove meje z Italijo je bil KLO Gradin del okraja Koper (Marin, 1992, 164–165). Ko je postalo jasno, da bo Koper postal del Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja in da bo Gradin ostal na jugoslovanski strani, je bil v začetku leta 1947 Gradin z okolico vključen v okraj Sežana. Po podpisu mirovne pogodbe z Italijo 15. februarja 1947 se je meja Jugoslavije premaknila proti zahodu, povečali sta se Slovenija in Hrvaška, nekaterim že prej spornim mejnim območjem med njima pa so se pridružila nova. Eno od teh je bilo tudi območje krajevnih ljudskih odborov Gradin, Pregara in Črnica oziroma katastrskih občin Pregara, Gradin in del katastrske občine Topolovec. Leta 1947 je del prebivalstva agitiral za priključitev k Hrvaški. Sestala naj bi se mešana komisija centralnih komitejev KP Slovenije in KP Hrvaške ter sklenila, da te kraje priključijo okraju Buzet oziroma LR Hrvaški. Leta 1955, ko je bil zabeležen takšen opis dogodkov, so dodali, da zapisnik seje in sklep nista arhivirana in da je zapis o tem nastal na podlagi izjav slovenskih članov komisije.⁷

Tako za dogajanja v letu 1944 kot za tista iz leta 1947 velja, da so primarni arhivski viri o razmejevanju skopi, več pa nam razkrivajo kasneje nastali sekundarni viri, ki so podvrženi varljivosti spomina in subjektivnosti opisa. Če naj bi bil temelj pri iskanju najboljše

možne variante meje med slovenskim in hrvaškim delom Jugoslaviji priključenega nekdanjega ozemlja Kraljevine Italije narodnostna meja, se je seveda treba vprašati, kje naj bi po mnenju pristojnih ta potekala. Že podatki o dogajanju leta 1944 nakazujejo, da naj bi si prebivalstvo želelo priključitve k Sloveniji.

Z vprašanjem, kako je možno definirati narodno identiteto skozi razvoj šolstva, ki ima vedno velik vpliv na oblikovanje identitet, se je sredi petdesetih let v te kraje podal vodja Slovenskega šolskega muzeja France Ostanek. Iskal je predvsem šolske kronike, ki so lahko precej dober pokazatelj jezikovne strukture in narodnega opredeljevanja ljudi. Opisal je razvoj šolstva in v šolskih kronikah izbrskal veliko podatkov o učnem jeziku, v katerem je v posameznem kraju potekal pouk. Prebivalce Gradina, ki ga je navajal z različnimi imeni, odvisno od dokumentacije, na katero je naletel, je ne dvoumno umestil med slovensko govoreče (Ostanek, 1991, 217). Pri iskanju šolske kronike, ki jo je za ugotavljanje narodnostne identitete našel tudi v manjših krajih, pa ni imel sreče, saj je davek premikanja meje odnesel tudi ta dokument. Kot je izvedel Ostanek, je šolsko kroniko »vzel zadnji hrvaški učitelj (1956) in je še ni vrnil«. Šola naj bi bila sicer ustanovljena leta 1910 s po enim oddelkom v hrvaškem in italijanskem učnem jeziku. Zaradi manjka temeljnega vira se je moral Ostanek pri iskanju sledov šolanja v vasi zanašati na druge, posredne, tako da podatki niso bili povsem zanesljivi. Vsekakor je šola od leta 1945 delovala s slovenskim učnim jezikom, po nekaj letih pa je slovenski učni jezik zamenjala hrvaščina (Ostanek, 1992, 252).

PO PRIKLJUČITVI HRVAŠKI

Po podpisu mirovne pogodbe z Italijo sta Slovenija in Hrvaška pridobili ozemlja, poseljena večinoma s slovenskim in hrvaškim, predvsem ob morju tudi večinsko italijanskim prebivalstvom, vsekakor pa z narodnostno precej mešanim ozemljem. V pregledanem arhivskem gradivu ne najdemo podatka, kdo naj bi leta 1947 odločal o premiku meje med upravnimi enotami. Domačini so za mejno kupčijo vseskozi krivili Edvarda Kardelja, ki naj bi se s hrvaškim voditeljem Vladimirjem Bakarićem dogovoril za mejo v Istri (Medica, 2006, 48–50). Vendar za ta podatek, ki je tudi glede domnevne zamenjave rek Dragonje in Mirne prerasel v pravo legendo, ni v resni literaturi in v primarni dokumentaciji nobene podlage. V gradivu, ki ga je zbrala Komunistična partija Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja, je bil ta predel opisan kot narodnostno slovenski, saj naj bi narodnostna meja potekala južno od Abitantom, torej na južni meji KLO Gradin (Čepič, 1999, 211). Kljub zavedanju tega dejstva so politiki

4 Ljudska pravica, 23. 7. 1946: Župnik Kalac Slavko pred okrožnim ljudskim sodiščem, 6.

5 Glas zaveznikov (Trst), 26. 7. 1946: Iz Slovenije, 2.

6 Ljudska pravica, 22, 26. 1. 1946: Zahteve Julijske Krajine po svobodi ne more prezreti noben mednarodni forum, 2.

7 SI AS 223, š. 630, 184/55, Poročilo o razmejitvi med LR Slovenijo in LR Hrvatsko, Ljubljana, 12. 9. 1955.

Okrajni IO za Sežanski okraj
T A J N I S T V O

Št. 268/1-47

Herpetlje-Kozina, dne 2. aprila 1947:

Predmet: KN00 Pregara, Gradena in Črnica
izločeni iz Sežanskega okraja.

K R A J E V N I N O O

Pregara
Gradena
Črnica

Obveščamo Vas, da je Vaše ozemlje z dnem prvim tega meseca izločeno iz Sežanskega okraja in priključeno k okraju Buzet (Hrvatska Istra).

V krajevni NOO Pregara spadajo sledeča naselja: Pregara in Reparac.

V krajevni NOO Gradena spadajo naselja: Gradena, Abitanti, Brezevičica, Kertine, Pavliči, Birci in Hosiči.

V krajevni NOO Črnica spadajo naselja: Črnica, Povžane, Monti, Cenfi, Blini, Gorščica, Ugrini, Jakci, Rodolje, Perci, Podrože in Santiči.

Naročamo Vam, da takej stopite v zveze z okrajnim NOO v Buzetu, ki Vam bo dal nadaljna navodila.

S.P. - S.H.

Tajnik:

(Jlerčič Mirko)

Jlerčič Mirko



Predsednik:

Potrdila (Mirko)

Potrdila (Mirko)

Slika 1: Obvestilo o priključitvi območja Gradina in okolice Hrvaški, 2. aprila 1947 (SI PAK 500, š. 1, a.e. 3).

odločili v nasprotju s tem. Kdo je sprejemal odločitev, iz primarnih virov ni jasno, v arhivu pa naletimo le na razplet, na končni sklep, ki ga je brez udeležbe lokalnega prebivalstva sprejel neki višji organ.

Okrajni ljudski odbor (OLO) Sežana je 2. aprila 1947 KLO Gradin, Pregara in Črnica poslal sledeče obvestilo:

Obveščamo Vas, da je Vaše ozemlje z dnem prvim tega meseca izločeno iz Sežanskega okraja in priključeno k okraju Buzet (Hrvatska Istra).

V krajevni NOO Pregara spadajo sledeča naselja: Pregara in Reparac.

V krajevni NOO Gradena spadajo naselja: Gradena, Abitanti, Brezovica, Kortine Pavlič, Širci in Rosiči.

V krajevni NOO Črnica spadajo naselja: Črnica, Povžane, Konti, Confi, Mlini, Goričica, Ugrini, Jakci, Kodelje, Perci, Podreče in Santiči. Naročamo Vam, da takoj stopite v zvezo z okrajnim NOO v Buzetu, ki Vam bo dal nadaljnja navodila.⁸

Še največ zapisov o tem, kako je prebivalstvo omenjenih krajev sprejelo odločitev, nam je ohranil tedanji šolski učitelj v Gradinu Marijan Malc. Kot sedemnajstleten je šel septembra 1943 v partizane, postal med vojno član Komunistične partije, po vojni pa izgubljena šolska leta nadoknadil in s pedagoškimi tečaji dokončal učiteljske.⁹ Kot veliko mladih slovenskih učiteljev je bil poslan na Primorsko, da bi skozi šolski proces krepil slovenstvo. Okolica je sodila med gospodarsko zaostale predele, prebivalci pa v obdobju med vojnama niso sprejemali italijanske fašistične šole. Šolska poslopja so bila v bornem stanju, učnih pripomočkov skorajda niso imeli, tako da učitelji, ki so bili po vojni postavljeni na ta delovna mesta, niso naleteli na urejene razmere. Malc je bil v prvem povojnem šolskem letu imenovan za učitelja v Padni. Na večino stvari, ki bi jih kot učitelj pričakoval, ni mogel računati, zanašal pa se je na pomoč vaščanov, svojo mladostno zagnanost in vzneseno vzdušje prebivalstva ob priključevanju matičnemu narodu (Malc, 1997, 204–212).

Sredi drugega šolskega leta, torej približno v času sprejemanja sklepa o vključitvi v Ljudsko republiko Hrvaško, je bil prestavljen v Gradin. Že kmalu so se začeli vrstiti »v šoli bučni sestanki« in »na vsakem so sprejeli po kakšno resolucijo, s katero so zahtevali spremembo mej in vrnitev vasi zopet pod republiko Slovenijo«. Nanjo so bili navezani domači kmetje, z njo so hoteli biti povezani tudi državni uslužbenci, učitelji in »zaščitniki« (kakor Malc v spominih navaja pripadnike varnostnih organov in so jih tedaj tako

imenovali domačini). Za nabavo materiala in navodila so bili ti kar naenkrat uradno vezani na Buzet (Malc, 1997, 212–213).

Bolj strašljivo je posledice priključitve krajev Hrvaški orisal Julij Beltram, sekretar okrajnega komiteja Komunistične partije STO Koper. Koper je bil središče »slovenskega« dela Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja, h kateremu je vse bolj gospodarsko gravitiral slovenski del Istre. Beltram je v svojih spominih zapisal:

Sporočilo je v vseh vaseh povzročilo veliko nezadovoljstvo, rekli bi pravi odpor. Ljudje so na vse mogoče načine protestirali, rotili, prosili, toda sklep oblasti je bil nepreklicen. Toda odpisani se niso potolažili vseh 8 let, koliko je trajala »vojna« proti nezaslišani krivici. Med tem časom so se dogajale hude in nerazumljive stvari; nad 70 ljudi je bilo zaprtih. Nekateri so bilo obsojeni na več kot 3 leta zapore. Nad 200 ljudi se je izselilo in razselilo po svetu. Prvih 7 mesecev ni nihče vzel živilskih nakaznic. Če je kdo pokazal na Nanos ali Slavnik, češ tam je naša domovina, so ga odpeljali z »marico« v Buzet vsaj za teden dni (Beltram, 1986, 111).

Žal nam Beltram v svojih spominih ne navaja, kakšno je bilo stališče osrednjih in lokalnih slovenskih oblasti do tega dogajanja, čeprav je moral biti po funkciji z njimi tesno povezan. Številke o izseljenih in zaprtih zavoljo spremembe meje se zdijo pretirane, saj na njih ne naletimo v nobenem drugem viru. Tiste o velikanskem izseljevanju zanesljivo ne držijo, saj je prebivalstvo (kasnejše občine) Gradin med popisoma prebivalstva 1948 in 1953 le malenkostno upadlo (iz 1279 na 1243). Drastičen upad števila prebivalstva pa se je začel po ukinitvi Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja, ko je hitra industrializacija obmorskih krajev pritegnila veliko delovne sile iz notranjosti Istre, tako slovenske kot hrvaške. Del prebivalstva pa je optiral za Italijo in se preselil v Trst z okolico, kar je tudi vplivalo na praznjenje zahodne obale in notranjosti Istre. V naslednjem malce več kot desetletju se je število prebivalstva zmanjšalo za približno dve petini (leta 1966 jih je bilo še 777), nekateri zaselki pa so bili v tem obdobju skorajda že izpraznjeni (Krajevni, 1968, 122–123). Tudi podatka o množičnem zapiranju ljudi, ki so protestirali proti odločitvi republiških oblasti o premiku meje, drugi pregledani viri ne potrjujejo. Ko je šest desetletij kasneje, ob nekem naslednjem slovensko-hrvaškem mejnem sporu, novinar intervjuval prebivalce teh krajev, mu je domačinka v nasprotju z Beltramovimi podatki preprosto dejala, da je sicer Udba nekajkrat prišla v kraje, ampak »vseh niso mogli pozapret«.

8 SI PAK 500, š. 1, a.e. 3, Okrajni IO za Sežanski okraj – Krajevni NOO Pregara, Gradena, Črnica, 2. 4. 1947.

9 SI AS 1589, Članski dokumenti, t. e. 3289, Anketni list Marijan Malc, 24. 6. 1949.

temveč so le »zaprla ena dva, več ku tolku nanka ne« (Medica, 2006, 50). Nekje med tema pa ja izjava Danila Petrinje, tedaj predsednika Okrajnega ljudskega odbora Sežana, da so bili številni aktivisti postavljeni pred sodišče »pod pretvezo, da širijo nacionalno mržnjo in šovinizem« (cf. Čepič, 1999, 214).

Marijan Malc je moral kot mlad učitelj sodelovati praktično pri vsaki pomembnejši akciji na vasi. »Za neplačane akcije so učitelje na vasi našli vedno« in kot pisanja najbolj vešča oseba je bil zadolžen tudi za popis prebivalstva. »Po pravici povedano se tej akciji nisem uprl«, je nadaljeval, saj je štel za svojo dolžnost, da čim bolj zmanjša delež tistih, ki bi se identificirali kot Italijani in optirali za Italijo. A do tega ni prihajalo, pojavil pa se je problem identitete med Slovani:

Veliko pa jih je bilo, ki niso vedeli, kaj so. Hoteli so biti po narodnosti Istrani. Nekaj se jih je odločalo za Hrvate. Največ v vasi Sirči. In vendar so vsi govorili za tisti čas zelo čisto slovenščino in le tu in tam se je prikradla po kakšna italijanska in hrvaška beseda. Treba je bilo ljudi prepričevati, da so se odločili za slovensko narodnost. Le dva sta posebej vztrajala, da sta Hrvata, in to smo potem tudi zapisali. Če sedaj premišlujem o tem, mi je jasno, zakaj. Nekaj dni pred popisom je župnik izvedel svojo akcijo za pripadnost k Hrvaški. Vaščana, ki sta hotela biti in ostala Hrvata, sta bila cerkvena moža. V Abitanti pa se je večkrat zgodilo, da so zahtevali vpis italijanske narodnosti, čeprav niso med seboj govorili drugače kot »po domače« (Malc, 1997, 214).

Malčev opis popisa prebivalstva nam ne kaže le, da narodna identiteta med domačini še ni bila trdno oblikovana. Dokazuje nam tudi, da so imeli popisovalci precejšen vpliv na končne rezultate popisov, saj so »prepričevali« ljudi, kako naj se opredelijo. Spornost popisov prebivalstva v tovrstnem okolju nam potrjuje že podatek, da naj v Gradinu po popisu iz leta 1880 ne bi bilo nobenega Slovenca, že leta 1900 pa naj bi jih bilo več kot 41 %. V istem času naj bi število Hrvatov upadlo iz 68 na 2 %, število Italijanov pa naj bi od 31 % leta 1880 naraslo na več kot 71 % v letu 1910. Sredi petdesetih let, ko je France Ostanek zbiral tovrstne podatke, je bilo v šolskem okolišu šole Gradin približno štiri petine Slovencev in približno po desetina Italijanov in Hrvatov (Ostanek, 1993, 184). Realnost podatkov o narodni pripadnosti na osnovi uradnih rezultatov popisa prebivalstva je bila v strokovni literaturi že večkrat postavljena pod vprašaj. Prevelik je bil namreč vpliv političnih želja trenutne oblasti, poleg tega pa v bolj zaostalih agrarnih predelih narodnostna identiteta še niti ni bila trdno oblikovana. Po drugi svetovni vojni so se tako pri prikazu narodnostne strukture prebivalstva Istre za argumentiranje zahtev za določitev meje med Jugosla-

vijo in Italijo bolj sklicevali na zadnje avstrijske popise prebivalstva, medtem ko so kot najbolj nezanesljive in zavajajoče šteli popise prebivalstva v času fašistične Italije (Troha, 2018, 181–187).

UPORNOST PROTI PRIKLJUČITVI K HRVAŠKI

Pred prenosom oblasti iz okraja Sežana na okraj Buzet so se predstavniki obeh okrajev dogovarjali, da bodo v Gradinu, Pregari in Črnici ostali slovenski miličniki in učitelji (Čepič 1999, 213), a so stvari kmalu krenile v nasprotno smer. Po priključitvi k Hrvaški se je večina domačinov odločila »za odpor proti pripadnosti drugi državi«. Sklicevati so se začeli na med vojno izveden referendum, na katerem so se odločili za Slovenijo na dejstvo, da so se moški večinoma vključili v slovenski Istrski odred. Najprej je sicer ostalo vse po starem in »dokler smo bili v vasi učitelji in zaščitniki, so bili masovni sestanki še v mejah znosnosti«, je zapisal Malc. »Na koncu zime pa so se najprej zmanjšale zaščitniške moči, ki so bile nastanjene v farovžu. Potem smo zgubili kar dve učni moči. To pa je bilo vaščanom že sumljivo.« Zahtevali so, da se vzpostavi staro stanje in da pridejo pod Slovenijo. Ustanovili so odbor OF, v katerega so imenovali ugledne prebivalce vasi in okoliških zaselkov, odpor pa je bil po Malčevih zapisih zasnovan na široko:

OF odbor je potem sestavljal resolucije, ki jih ni bilo malo. Pošiljali so jih na vse strani. Najbolj pa je veljala njegova beseda doma. Organizirali so popis živine, rezerve hrane in delovne sile. Med vaščani so odredili samopomoč. Prepovedali so sprejemanje vsakršnih materialov, ki so jih poslali za preskrbo vasi z okraja. Zavrnili so pošiljko modre galice, trte pa je bilo treba škropiti. Nekaj so jo delali sami doma kot med vojno. [...] Davke so zavračali, saj jih tudi niso imeli s čim poravnati. Obvezne oddaje niso upoštevali. Zaklano živino so razdelili potreb- nim. Viške krompirja so delili revnim družinam in nam učiteljem (Malc, 1997, 216).

Domačine so na sestankih OF zagovorniki priključitve k Hrvaški poskušali pregovoriti z argumentom, da jim je Buzet blizu in da bodo tako lažje opravljali upravne zadeve. Toda dejstvo, da je Buzet dejansko Gradinu, Pregari in Črnici dosti bližje kot Sežana (ali kasneje Koper), pri ljudeh očitno ni igralo pomembne vloge, saj je bil vendarle na drugi strani jezikovne meje. Po pripovedovanju domačinov desetletja kasneje so jim obljubljali tudi »slovensko šolo, slovenske narodne zaščitnike in celo to, da bodo z oblastmi poslovali v slovenščini« (Medica, 2006, 50). Ob takšnih obljubah je bilo očitno, da se je oblast zavedala, da v primeru teh krajev narodni vidik ni imel poglobitve vloge pri določanju meje med republikama.



Ker so jim omenili, da naj bi bil za razmejitve zadolžen Edvard Kardelj, so se usedli na vlak za Beograd

Odločni Gabrijel, ki ga v spominih omenja Malc, je bil Gabrijel Rožič iz Abramov, aktivist OF od leta 1943,

tajnik rajonskega odbora OF za Pregaro in Gradin in predsednik KLO Pregara. Jeseni 1944 je bil izvoljen v skupščino istrskega okraja in postal predsednik njenege izvršnega odbora (Pahor, 1998, 320). Ko je začela hrvaška policija iskati najbolj glasne zagovornike bojkotiranja odločitev hrvaških državnih oblasti, se je po pripovedovanju domačina dolgo skrival v gozdu. Nato se je zaposlil, a bil kmalu aretiran in bil skorajda dve leti na prisilnem delu (Medica, 2006, 50). Toda tega podatka ne najdemo v skopi zabeleži o njegovem delu iz decembra 1972, ko je Zveza borcev občine Koper zaprosila, da se mu prizna stalna priznavalnina kot udeležencu narodnoosvobodilnega boja. V obrazložitvi je o povojnem času zapisano le: »Po vojni ima veliko zaslug pri utrjevanju ljudske oblasti, še posebno pri obnovi podeželja tako na območju hrvatske kot tudi slovenske Istre.«¹⁰ Tako kot pri Malcu tudi pri Rožiču v kratkih zabeležkah političnih organov o njegovem preteklem delu, čas političnega nasprotovanja njegovim višjim oblastnim organom glede določitve republiške meje ni pustil črne pike v njegovem dosjeju.

Julij Beltram, ki je dogajanje spremljal »od zunaj«, iz Kopra, je nekoliko preveč vzneseno zapisal, da »boj za priključitev izločenih krajev k Sloveniji ni nikdar ponehal vsemu navkljub in po mnogih delegacijah na vse forume, republike, zvezo, na visoke predstavnike Tita, Kardelja, Marinka, Bakarića leto za letom« (Beltram, 1986, 112). Toda potrditve, da bi predstavniki teh krajev poskušali nagovarjati tudi predstavnike Hrvaške, v drugih virih ne najdemo, prav tako kot ne navedbe, da naj bi se akcije vlekle dolga leta.

V mesecih po aprilu 1947, ko so bili formalno priključeni Hrvaški, so v občini Gradin prejemali dopise iz OLO Sežana in OLO (hrvaško KNO – Kotarskog narodnog odbora) Buzet. Odpisovali so sicer na obe strani, a več v zanje po novem »nepristojno« Sežano. Iz OLO Buzet so jih npr. 17. junija 1947 opomnili, ker jim niso odgovorili na njihov dopis iz 20. maja z zahtevo po poročanju o številu hiš, domačij in prebivalcev.¹¹ Iz Sežane pa so jim štiri dni kasneje vrnili zapisnik o prijavi smrti in prijavi rojstva s pripombo, da »vaš KLO ne spada več pod Sežanski Okraj, temveč v Buzet, to je v Istri«.¹²

Da je delovanje lokalnih organov prešlo v »ilegalno« obdobje, po svoje ponazarjajo tudi zapisniki najvišjega lokalnega organa, Krajevnega ljudskega odbora Gradin. V ohranjenem arhivskem gradivu je šest zapisnikov tega organa iz leta 1946, ki so bili množično obiskani. Na zadnjem 6. zboru, ki je potekal

4. decembra 1946, jih je bilo od 332 upravičencev na zboru prisotnih kar 165, torej približno polovica.¹³ Za čas po priključitvi k Hrvaški pa ni v gradivu nobenega zapisnika, kot da bi se kar naenkrat nehali srečevati – a iz že omenjenih drugih virov izvemo, da je bilo njihovo sestajanje prav pogosto.

Nedelovanje uradnih organov se je potegnilo skozi nekaj let. Okrajni ljudski odbor Buzet je septembra 1950 sestavil seznam prejetih zapisnikov podrejenih lokalnih organov, ki bi jih kot nadrejeni organ morali redno dobivati. Jezili so se na majhno število prejetih zapisnikov, še posebej pa na petnajst krajevnih ljudskih odborov, ki po njihovih evidencah niso imeli niti po enega zasedanja ali seje. Med temi je bil omenjen tudi »mjesni narodni odbor« Gradin.¹⁴ Vsekakor velika razlika v primerjavi z živahnostjo delovanja odbora v letu 1946, pred priključitvijo Hrvaški.

Šolski pouk je po priključitvi k Hrvaški še nekaj let potekal v slovenščini. Marijan Malc je zapisal, da je »odgovarjal za vse tri šolske okoliše, v katerih je bila slovenska šola«. A se je začelo stanje nezadržno slabšati. Ko je okrajni odbor Buzet v šolskem letu 1947/48 prevzel oblast nad šolami, so prenehali dobivati slovensko časopisje, do drugih informacij pa so prišli le s težavo (Malc, 1997, 216). Ko je Malc poročal KLO Gradin in prosvetnemu odseku okraja Buzet, je seveda pisal v slovenščini. Oblastne organe je npr. ob začetku šolskega leta 1948/49 pozval, naj starše tistih otrok, ki svojih naraščajnikov ne pošiljajo redno v šolo, opomni ali kaznuje, da bodo spoznali, da delajo napako. Na dopisu je žig Osnovne šole Gradin, ki ima na sredini še vedno grb Ljudske republike Slovenije, le za besedo Okraj ni več imena Sežana, temveč tam zeva praznina.¹⁵ Do kdaj je ostal v Gradinu, iz Malčevih spominov ni razvidno. V svoji Biografiji, napisani 24. junija 1949 za ureditev partijskega staža, svojega nasprotovanja sklepom oblasti seveda ni omenjal.¹⁶ V istega dne izpolnjenem anketnem listu je zapisal, da je učitelj na šoli v Gradinu, okraj Buzet, da je bil nazadnje na partijski konferenci novembra 1948 v Buzetu. Toda obrazec v hrvaščini je izpolnil dosledno v slovenskem jeziku in na vprašanje o znanju jezikov odgovoril, da »obvladam slovenski in deloma srbsko-hrvatski jezik«.¹⁷ Iz navedenih podatkov sledi, da je gradinska šola ves čas Malčevega službovanja ohranjala pouk v slovenščini. Iz njegove članske izkaznice Komunistične partije Jugoslavije pa bi lahko sklepali, da je v Gradinu ostal do konca šolskega leta 1951/52,

10 SI AS 1546, t. e. 45, Rožič Gabrijel, Ljubljana, 5. 12. 1972.

11 SI PAK 500, šk. 1, a.e. 4, Kotarski narodni odbor Buzet – Mjesni narodni odbor Gradin, Buzet, 17. 6. 1947.

12 SI PAK 500, šk. 1, a.e. 4, Okrajni Izvršni LO Sežana – Krajevni ljudski odbor Gradin, Sežana, 21. 6. 1947.

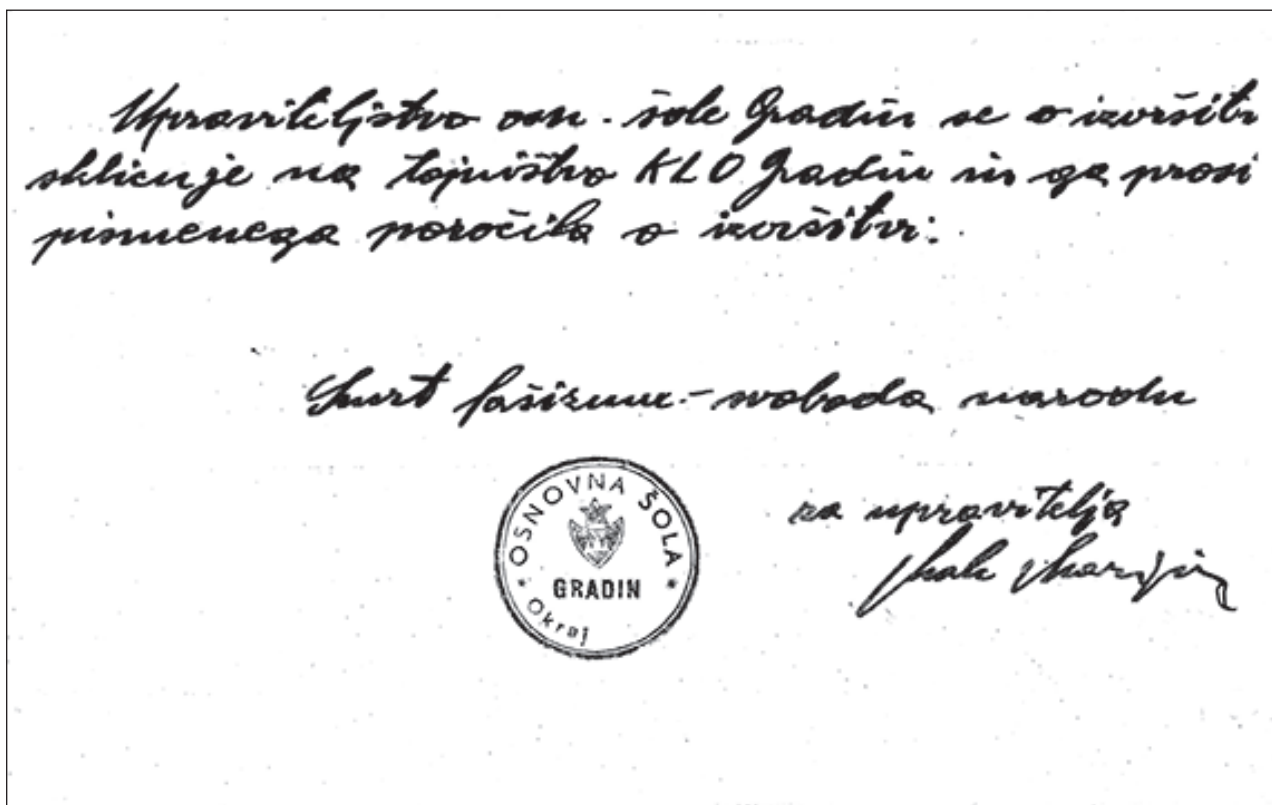
13 SI PAK 500, šk. 4, a.e. 26, Zapisniki KLO Gradin 1946–47.

14 SI PAK 500, šk. 3, a.e. 19, KNO Buzet – narodnim odborima, 13. 9. 1950.

15 SI PAK 500, šk. 2, a.e. 8, Uprava OŠ Gradin – KLO Gradin in OLO Buzet, 12. 9. 1948.

16 SI AS 1589, Članski dokumenti, t. e. 3289, Marijan Malc, Biografija, Gradin, 24. 6. 1949.

17 SI AS 1589, Članski dokumenti, t. e. 3289, Marijan Malc, Anketni list, 24. 6. 1949.



Slika 3: Zaključek dopisa upravitelja šole v Gradinu Marijana Malca, 12. septembra 1948. Dopis je v slovenskem jeziku, tudi na žigu je še grb Ljudske republike Slovenije, le navedba okraja je odstranjena iz žiga. Drugega žiga očitno še niso imeli (SI PAK 500, š. 2, a.e. 8).

saj je od poletja 1952 članarino že plačeval po novih pravilih in sicer Komunistični partiji Slovenije.¹⁸ France Ostanek je ob popisovanju šol na tem področju zapisal, da je pouk v hrvaškem jeziku potekal v letih 1951–1954 (Ostanek, 1992, 252), a z zanesljivimi podatki za Gradin ni razpolagal.

Domačini so na različne načine ignorirali sklepe okrajanih organov v Buzetu, celo tiste, ki so poslabševali njihovo življenjsko raven. Zaradi bojkota prejemanja živilskih nakaznic niso mogli kupovati živil in industrijskih izdelkov, po zamenjavi še zadnje slovenske učne moči v šoli pa so nekateri starši nehali pošiljati otroke v šolo (Medica, 2006, 50–52). Informacije, da se velik del prebivalstva KLO-jev Gradin, Pregara in Črnice s priključitvijo ni strinjal, da so pisali prošnje slovenskim oblastem, naj to območje vnovič pripade Sloveniji, da so bojkotirali sklepe upravnih organov iz Buzeta in da od tam niso hoteli prejemati niti živilskih nakaznic, pa tudi davkov niso hoteli plačevati (Čepič, 1999, 213–214), so dosegle pristojne slovenske organe. Primorski komunist Ivan Regent,

ki je postal leta 1947 minister v slovenski vladi, je oktobra 1947 posredoval predsedniku vlade Mihi Marinku pismo »v zadevi nekaterih istrskih vasic, ki so priključene Hrvatski republiki, prebivalstvo katerih pa bi hotelo biti priključeno k Sloveniji«. S problematiko so Regenta ustno seznanil tudi vodilni iz okraja Sežana. Žal pismo, morda ena od resolucij, ki so jih pisali v Gradinu, v pregledanem arhivskem gradivu ni ohranjeno. V ohranjenem spremnem dopisu pa je Regent zapisal, da »je razvidno, da je vprašanje zelo pereče«, in svetoval, da »ne bi bilo napačno to vprašanje rešiti kolikor mogoče hitreje«.¹⁹

Da so akcije Gradincev in okoličanov naletele na odmev tudi v najvišjih političnih krogih, po svoje priča tudi depeša, ki so jo dobili 10. oktobra 1947 iz Beograda. Komite za zakonodajo zvezne vlade v Beogradu je od predsedstva slovenske vlade v Ljubljani zahteval, da jim pošljejo podatke »o opravljeni začasni razmejitvi z Ljudsko republiko Hrvaško na priključenem ozemlju s priloženo karto in upravno razdelitvijo«.²⁰

18 SI AS 1589, Članski dokumenti, t. e. 3289, Marijan Malc, Članska knjižica KPJ, 24. 6. 1949.

19 SI AS 1748, šk. 5, I, 2, Pismo Ivana Regenta – predsedniku vlade LRS Mihi Marinku, 28. 10. 1947.

20 SI AS 223, š. 24, Brzjojavke zvezne vlade 1947, Komitet za zakonodavstvo – Predsedstvu vlade, 10. 10. 1947.

Beltram je omenil, da so razmere občutili tudi v političnih krogih na Svobodnem tržaškem ozemlju, »saj je takrat več ljudi iz teh krajev delalo na Koprskem«. Na lastni koži je to občutil poslanec v OLO Koper Peter Pavlič iz Pavličev, ki se »je solidariziral z »uporniki« iz domačih krajev«. Zato je v Koper prišla zahteva iz Buzeta, naj bo partijsko kaznovan in »rajonski komite KP STO Koper je Pavliča izključil iz partije«. Ker se je Pavlič pritožil, so na slovenski strani omilili kazen in izdali sklep, v katerem »je kadrovske oddelek izrekel strogi partijski ukor Petru Pavliču, ker je hujskal ljudi iz vasi Gradin proti priključitvi k ljudski republiki Hrvaški, kar je pomenilo prestop proti demokraciji centralizmu«. Za Pavliča, uslužbenca v javni upravi, je bila v tedanjem času to huda kazen (Beltram, 1986, 112). Tudi Marijan Malc je bil klican na zagovor na okrajni komite Komunistične partije v Koper, kjer so mu očitali šovinizem in sabotažo (Malc, 1997, 219).

Prebivalci Gradina in okolice so še nekaj časa zavračali sklepe hrvaških oblasti, a enotnost se je izgubljala pod težo razmer. Upornost ljudi je verjetno upadala tudi ob spoznanju, da slovenska politika ni podprla njihovih prizadevanj. »Ko so po sklepu OF odbora zavrnil kamion s pošiljko modre galice in žvepla, je nastalo godrnjanje«, a so uspeli domačine pomiriti, ko so jim povedali, »da so obljubili preučitev stanja«. Kdo naj bi bili ti, ki naj bi preučili stanje, Malc v spominih ni zapisal, a verjetno se zapis nanaša na hrvaške organe oblasti, ki nekaj let niso mogli vzpostaviti zakonitosti na tem delčku okraja Buzet. Kajti vsaj nekaj časa je »vaška republika v republiki«, kot je položaj slikovito označil Malc, vztrajala na svojih položajih: »V trgovini smo dobili meso in krompir brez denarja. Vsakemu je bilo oddeljeno svoje.« Prva akcija hrvaških oblasti, ki se ji domačini niso uprli, je bila napeljava elektrike. Domačini so se pridružili pri delu za to pridobitev in začelo se je neko novo obdobje. Dolgo vztrajanje upornikov je Marijan Malc sklenil s sledečo mislijo: »Taki zavestni odpovedi v revščini, ki je vladala po prestani vojni, so bile na vasi možne le kot izraz velikega hotenja, ki je presegalo vse razumne meje« (Malc, 1997, 218–219).

Novice o protestih in uporih proti oblasti v Jugoslaviji seveda niso mogle biti objavljene. Jih je pa rade volje izkoristil zamejski protikomunistični tisk. Ob koncu leta 1950 je tako tržaško-goriška Demokracija, znana po ostrem protijugoslovanskem tonu, objavila dopis o dramatičnem dogajanju v Gradinu, ki naj bi jim ga poslal tamkajšnji domačin:

Od nas se nismo še oglasili v »Demokraciji«, ki jo redko dobimo, ali z veseljem čitamo, ko pride

do nas kakšna številka. Mi živimo tako, da ne umremo. Naši ljudje hodijo na roboto (prisilno delo) na železniško progo, ki bo vezala Reko s srednjo Istro. Vsi, do 70 let, morajo na delo, če so pri zdravniškem pregledu spoznani kot delazmožni. Tudi če je en sam delazmožen v družini, mora na to prostovoljno delo brez plače. Tam ostane en mesec ali celo mesec in pol. Potem gredo drugi in ga nadomestijo. Že devet mesecev nismo dobili ničesar na izkaznice, niti sladkorja, niti mila, sploh nič. Sladkor, če se ga sploh dobi, stane 700 do 900 din. Ne moremo več živeti. Cela vas Reparac se je hotela izseliti v Trst, ali niso dobili dovoljenja. Čakamo, da se kaj spremeni. Da bi se vendar kaj spremenilo in kmalu! Drugače bo po nas.²¹

Morda preveč dramatičen opis razmer, ki pa vendarle kaže, da upornost ni hitro zamrla. O takšnem prisilnem delu, kot ga omenja članek, v drugih virih ni podatkov. Obupne socialne razmere pa omenjajo praktično vsi, ki so se dotaknili problematike premika meje pri Gradinu leta 1947. Kdaj je uporniški duh popustil, po pregledani dokumentaciji ni možno natančno opredeliti. Od leta 1948 so v korespondenci Krajevnega ljudskega odbora Gradin zgolj dopisi, ki so jih prejeli iz nadrejenega Okrajnega ljudskega odbora Buzet. Večinoma so navodila iz nadrejenega organa, odgovorov oz. dopisov KLO Gradin pa skorajda ni. Jezik odgovorov je nekakšna mešanica slovenščine, hrvaščine in »istranščine«, kar nakazuje, da hrvaščina v teh krajih ni bila uveljavljena. V dopisih je OLO Buzet večinoma kot ime kraja zapisoval Gradin, redkeje Gradin. V dopisu z Reke se pojavi celo poimenovanje Gradinja. Ko je lokalna oblast v začetku petdesetih let vnovič začela kolikor toliko delovati, je dopise pošiljala žigosane z napisom: »Narodna republika Hrvaška, Mjesni narodni odbor Gradin«.²² V nekaterih ozirih so bili kraji še vedno vezani na republiko Slovenijo. V tej smeri je potekala večina trgovanja, dnevnih delovnih migracij in tudi odselitev prebivalstva v iskanju boljšega življenja. Za poštno uslugo je še vedno skrbela pošta Sočerga, ki je KLO Gradin 30. januarja 1948, kako bodo še vnaprej dostavljali pošto, seveda obvestila v slovenščini.²³ Gospodarski stiki so potekali na obe strani, na Hrvaško in v Slovenijo.

Večjo željo po premiku stvari na boljše je v domače kraje zanesel Ernest Boškin, rojen leta 1927 v Koromacijah, ki se je v partizanske vrste vključil leta 1944. V članstvo Komunistične partije ga je leta 1949 sprejel sekretar osnovne organizacije Gradin Marijan Malc. Za razliko od Malca je Boškin obvladal srbohrvaščino in je svoje dokumente izpolnil v tem jeziku, pasivno

²¹ Demokracija, 22. 12. 1950: Dopis iz Gradina pri Buzetu, 2.

²² SI PAK 500, šk. 2.

²³ SI PAK 500, šk. 2, a.e. 13, Pošta Sočerga – KLO Gradin, Sežana, 30. 1. 1948.

pa je obvladal tudi italijanščino. Morda je bil tudi to vzrok, da je bil aprila 1950 imenovan za člana okrajnega odbora Komunistične partije Buzet. Verjetno z željo, da bi poživil družbeno delovanje v domačem okolju, ga je okrajni ljudski odbor Buzet že poleti 1950 premestil v Gradin in imenoval za novega predsednika KLO Gradin.²⁴ Ko je bila lokalna oblast leta 1952 preoblikovana v občinski ljudski odbor Gradin, je Boškin postal njen tajnik in gradinska občina je začela redneje komunicirati z Buzetom in mu odgovarjati na dopise. Pod dopisi je bil Boškin zapisan kot Boskin, saj so na občini razpolagali le s precej starim in izdelanim tipkalnim strojem, ki ni imel šumnikov č, š, ž. Zato je bil tudi predsednik »Narodnog odbora općine Gradin« na njihovih dopis zapisan kot Matej Markežic (in ne pravilno kot Matej Markežič),²⁵ medtem ko ga v kakšnem dokumentu okrajnega ljudskega odbora Buzet najdemo navedenega kot Mate Markežić.²⁶ Oživiljanje družbene dejavnosti je bilo vidno tudi v tem, da so se leta 1953 v Gradinu zopet sestali na zborih volivcev, na katerih pa so obravnavali le redne zadeve in na kakšne posebnosti ali proteste vsaj sprva v njih ne naletimo.²⁷ Toda kolo zgodovine je poskrbelo, da so utišane zadeve vnovič postale aktualne.

NOVA ZAHTEVA ZA PRIKLJUČITEV SLOVENIJI

Po ena mednarodno politična in notranjepolitična sprememba sta vplivali, da je vprašanje meje pri Gradinu vnovič prišlo na dnevni red sej pristojnih organov. Po podpisu Londonskega memoranduma 5. oktobra 1954 je bilo ukinjeno Svobodno tržaško ozemlje. Njegova Cona B je bila razdeljena na okraja Koper in Buje, ki sta bila vezana prvi na slovenske in drugi na hrvaške organe oblasti. Toda spremembo meja je bilo po ukitvi Svobodnega tržaškega ozemlja vendarle še potrebno formalizirati. V notranjepolitičnem pogledu pa je nova vprašanja odprla vpeljava komunalnega sistema leta 1955 s krepitvijo večjih občin in usihanjem moči okrajev. Sledil je začetek združevanja občin in okrajev, slednji pa so izgubljali pristojnosti in bili v Sloveniji leta 1965 dokončno odpravljeni. Združevanje manjših enot lokalne oblasti je na novo odprlo vprašanje, kam naj se majhne občine po novem vključijo.

Informacija, da bo treba po novem potegniti meje občin, je doseglo tudi majhno občino Gradin in na zahtevo desetine volilnih upravičencev je bil 30. novembra 1954 sklican zbor volivcev treh volilnih enot v občini, poleg Gradina še bližnjih zaselkov Brezovica in Sirči. Od 300 volilnih upravičencev jih

je na zbor prišlo kar 163, torej je šlo po dolgih sedmih letih vnovič za množično obiskano zasedanje v Gradinu. Prisotni zastopnik okraja Buzet jim je sporočil, da okrajni odbor v okviru reorganizacije predlaga ukinitev občine Gradin, o čemer bi lahko sklepali že na seji okrajnega odbora 3. decembra. Toda volivci hitrega ukinjanja občine niso podprli. Predlog za ukinitev je bil podkrepčen z obrazložitvijo, da je Gradin precej oddaljen od trgovskih, zdravstvenih, prometnih, ekonomskih in telefonskih središč. Josip Šavle je ob nasprotovanju predlogu o takojšnji ukinitvi izrazil skepso, da naj bi bilo za njih iz večjih hrvaških središč bolje poskrbljeno. Omenil je npr., da jim je bila takšna obljuba že pred časom dana za redne obiske zdravnika, pa ga v kraju niso nikoli videli in so se morali odpraviti po pomoč v Koper, Izolo, Piran ali Buje. Tudi z iskanjem dovoljenj za prodajo živine na bližnjih sejnih v Bujah ali Buzetu so imeli slabe izkušnje, saj so po pripovedovanju Šavla izgubili za to po več dni. Po Šavlovi prepričljivi argumentaciji so se prisotni soglasno odločili, da naj občina nadaljuje z delom do oblikovanja novih komun. Ernesta Šavrona so zadalžili, da jih takoj po povratku s seje okrajnega odbora Buzet obvesti o tem, kaj bodo sklenili na seji glede občine Gradin.²⁸

Po tej osrednji točki dnevnega reda se prisotni niso razšli, temveč so nadaljevali z drugo točko dnevnega reda – Razno. Brez ovinkarjenja so izrazili željo, da bi bili v bodočem komunalnem sistemu vključeni v komuno (občino) Koper. Zato naj bi prepis zapisnika zbora volivcev poslali na OLO Koper. Eden od razpravljavcev se s tako oblikovanim predlogom ni strinjal, saj naj ne bi zadostoval. Ker je bila sprememba republiške meje v pristojnosti višjih organov, bi morali to pobudo poslati nanje, torej Saboru Hrvaške, Izvršnemu svetu Slovenije in Zveznemu izvršnemu svetu. Prisotni so željo, da zaenkrat občina ostane v Gradinu, podkrepili z obljubo, da so pripravljeni prevzeti povečane stroške za njeno vzdrževanje. S potrditvijo predloga o nadaljnjem delu občine v Gradinu je bil zbor tudi zaključen.²⁹

Pobuda z zbora volivcev v Gradinu je sprožila hitre odzive, ki niso bili tako nenaklonjeni izražanju želja prebivalstva kot leta 1947. Jasno je bilo le, da bo občina Gradin kot premajhna in nezmožna za samostojno delovanje v novem komunalnem sistemu ukinjena, ni pa še bilo dokončno odločeno, h kateri večji sosednji občini naj bi bila priključena. Seja občinskega ljudskega odbora Gradin, na katerem so odločali o njeni nadaljnji usodi, je potekala 15. aprila 1955. Predsednik odbora Mirko Šavron je pojasnil,

24 SI AS 1589, t. e. 4877, Boškin Ernest, Anketni list, 24. 5. 1950; Biografija (b.d.); Nadopuna biografije (b.d.).

25 SI PAK 501, t. e. 1, a. e. 3, Odluka o brojnom sastavu Narodnog odbora Općine Gradin, 22. 10. 1952.

26 SI PAK 501, t. e. 1, a. e. 3, Rješenje o obrazovanju komisije za biračke spiskove za kotar Buzet, 9. 10. 1952 (pretsjednik Flego Vojko).

27 SI PAK 501, t. e. 1, a. e. 5.

28 SI PAK 501, t. e. 2, Zapisnik sa zbora birača, 30. 11. 1954.

29 Prav tam.

da bodo v novem komunalnem sistemu tako majhne občine ukinjene in da naj bi v Gradinu ostala le majhna izpostava večje občine za urejanje najnujnejših upravnih zadev. Za njim je besedo dobil Anton Mikulič, ki je menil, da je treba občino ukiniti in da si tukajšnje prebivalstvo želi priključitve k občini Koper. Predsednik Mirko Šavron je sicer podprl njegovo stališče, a je opozoril na proceduralni zahtevek, da morata obstajati dva predloga, eden za Koper in drugi za Buje, saj bi tovrstna sprememba občinske meje hkrati pomenila premik republiške meje. Ker je bilo to v pristojnosti Zvezne ljudske skupščine v Beogradu, bi moral na koncu postopka odločati ta organ. Tudi zbori volivcev so podprli načelo, je poudaril Šavron, naj se izbira med dvema predlogoma. Odborniki so se odločili za predlog, naj bodo priključeni h Kopru, opozorili pa tudi, da bi moralo isto veljati tudi za Topolovec, s katerim so skozi zgodovino tvorili nedeljivo enoto. Argumentov za nasprotni predlog, za priključitev k občini Buje, po zapisniku sodeč ni zagovarjal nihče od prisotnih odbornikov občinskega ljudskega odbora Gradin. Po debati so sklenili, da če ni možno zadovoljiti željam tega ljudstva, da bo priključeno komuni Koper, naj o usodi, kam bodo priključeni, pač odločijo od zgoraj.³⁰

Prebivalci in njihovi zastopniki v Ljudskem odboru so soglašali, da bi svojo usodo vezali na občino Koper in s tem na republiko Slovenijo. O tem so bili obveščeni vodstveni organi okraja Koper in obeh prizadetih republik. Izvršni svet LR Slovenije je o pobudi, ki jo je prejel iz Primorske, razpravljal 10. junija 1955 in sprejel predlog predsednika vlade Borisa Kraigherja, da »bi Izvršni svet predlagal Izvršnemu svetu Hrvatske, naj se formira komisija iz zastopnikov obeh Izvršnih svetov, ki naj skuša najti sporazumno rešitev pri razmejitvi med okraji Koper, Buje in Buzet«.³¹ Iz skromnega zapisnika ni razvidno, da bi slovenska vlada svojim zastopnikom dala natančnejša navodila za pogovore oziroma zavzela stališče o tem, na katerih odsekih naj bi prišlo do popravkov meje.

Komisiji, ki sta ju imenovali vladi Slovenije in Hrvaške za oblikovanje meje v Istri, sta se sestali 14. julija 1955 v prostorih okrajnega ljudskega odbora Buje. Govorili so o dveh odsekih meje, o območju sporne občine Gradin oziroma zahtevah prebivalcev po njeni priključitvi LR Sloveniji in o razmejitvi ob spodnjem toku reke Dragonje. Pri prvi točki je hrvaški predstavnik Vojko Flego predstavil zahteve ljudi iz občine Gradin po priključitvi občine Sloveniji, kar sta potrdila tudi občinski ljudski odbor Gradin in okrajni ljudski

odbor Buzet. Po tem so udeleženci sestanka »sklenili soglasno, da se Izvršnemu svetu NRH predlaga, da se to področje priključi Ljudski republiki Sloveniji«. Pri problematiki razmejitve ozemlja ob spodnjem toku reke Dragonje pa so slovenski in hrvaški predstavniki soglasno sklenili, »da se predlaga Izvršnemu svetu Slovenije, da se potrdi meja na reki Dragonji oziroma po dejanskem stanju, tj. od izliva reke Dragonje v morje do mosta preko Dragonje, ki se nahaja pod vasjo Kaštel, ter naprej navzgor po sedanjem stanju«.³²

Slovenski vladi je o sestanku v Bujah na seji Izvršnega sveta 21. julija 1955 poročal vodja slovenske komisije Niko Šilih. Povedal je, da so člani obeh komisij »soglasno sklenili predlagati Izvršnemu svetu LRH, da se območje občine Gradin (OLO Buzet) pripoji LR Sloveniji, Izvršnemu svetu LRS pa v ostalem, da potrdi mejo na reki Dragonji po obstoječem stanju«. Izvršni svet LR Slovenije je nato sklenil, da potrdi sklepe »in pritrditev sporoči Izvršnemu svetu LRH«.³³

Še preden so bile spremembe zakonsko izpeljane do konca, so jih začeli lokalni organi že upoštevati kot nedvoumno dejstvo. Dva dni kasneje, 23. julija 1955, so namreč na ustanovni seji obeh zborov novega Ljudskega odbora okraja Koper ob določanju števila odbornikov, ki so jih v odbor imenovalе občine, omenili tudi Gradin. Eden od odbornikov je zato zaprosil »za pojasnilo glede priključitve občine Gradin«. Odgovor predsednika ljudskega odbora okraja Koper Albina Dujca je bil kratek in skop: »Predsednik pojasni, da je na podlagi dogovora z Ljudsko republiko Hrvatsko občina Gradin priključena našemu okraju ter s tem Ljudski republiki Sloveniji.«³⁴

Na eni od zadnjih sej občinskega LO Gradin, ko so vodilni že vedeli, kako potekajo dogovori med Slovenijo in Hrvaško, so poskušali z nekaterimi sklepi kar pohiteti. Na seji 26. avgusta 1955 so se dogovorili, da naj bi šola v novem šolskem letu, upoštevajoč nacionalno strukturo prebivalstva, vnovič začela delovati v slovenskem jeziku.³⁵

Za mejo pri Gradinu je najprej Sabor LR Hrvaške 15. decembra 1955 sprejel sklep o izločitvi osmih krajev iz Hrvaške, dne 6. marca 1956 pa je o tem razpravljala še Ljudska skupščina LR Slovenije. V obrazložitvi je bilo zapisano, da »prebivalstvo v predlogu odloka naštetih vasi, ki so zdaj na ozemlju Ljudske republike Hrvatske, že dalj časa teži za tem, da bi se te vasi priključile Ljudski republiki Sloveniji, in sicer k okraju Koper, ker je večina tega prebivalstva slovenske narodnosti« (Stenografski, 1956, 269). Tudi v predstavitvi odloka v skupščini je Niko Šilih uvodoma

30 SI PAK 501, t.e. 2, Zapisnik sa XVI. Sjednice Narodnog odbora Općine Gradin, 15. 4. 1955.

31 SI AS 223, š. 306, Zapisnik LI. seje Izvršnega sveta Ljudske skupščine LRS z dne 10. 6. 1955, 3.

32 SI AS 223, š. 630, 184/55, Zapisnik sastanka Komisije Izvršnog vijeća Hrvatske i Komisije Izvršnog vijeća Narodne Republike Slovenije, održanog dne 14. VII. 1955 god. u prostorijama Narodnog odbora kotara Buje.

33 SI AS 223, š. 306, Zapisnik LV. seje Izvršnega sveta Ljudske skupščine LRS dne 21. 7. 1955, 2.

34 SI PAK 24, šk. 660, Zapisnik I. skupne seje odbornikov obeh zborov Ljudskega odbora okraja Koper, 23. 7. 1955, 3.

35 SI PAK 501, t.e. 2, Zapisnik sa XVIII, održanog 26. 8. 1955.

poudaril »stalno izraženo težnjo prebivalcev občine Gradin« po priključitvi k Sloveniji. Ko je govoril o delu komisij slovenske in hrvaške vlade, se je omejil zgolj na njeno prvo točko oziroma njen prvi sklep, da je »soglasno ugotovila upravičenost želje prebivalcev tega področja, da se priključi h Kopru«, ni pa omenil drugega dela komisije oziroma njenega drugega sklepa (Stenografski, 1956, 32; UL LRS, 1956, 69).

Ker je po ustavi FLRJ postal tovrstni odlok veljaven šele s potrditvijo v Zvezni ljudski skupščini, je o njem sklepal tudi najvišji zakonodajni organ v Jugoslaviji. Dne 27. marca 1956 je sprejel odlok o potrditvi spremembe meje med Hrvaško in Slovenijo, v katerem je zapisano: »Potrdi se sprememba meja med Ljudsko republiko Hrvatsko in Ljudsko republiko Slovenijo, ki je v tem, da postanejo kraji Abitanti, Belvedur, Brezovica, Gradin, Koromači-Boškini, Močunigi, Pregara in Širči v občini Buje, okraj Pulj, ki so bili doslej v sestavi ozemlja Ljudske republike Hrvatske, sestavni del ozemlja Ljudske republike Slovenije« (UL FLRJ, 1956, 201).

To je bil edini primer, ko je bila sprememba meje med Slovenijo in Hrvaško potrjena na ustavno predpisani način, torej s sklepoma najvišjih zakonodajnih organov obeh republik in potrditvijo sklepa v zvezni skupščini. Čeprav gre za enkratni primer na tej meji in eden izmed redkih tovrstnih premikov v povojni jugoslovanski zgodovini, so ga mediji praktično zaobšli. Razen mimobežnih zapisov osrednja slovenska časnika, *Slovenski poročevalec* in *Ljudska pravica*, o tej ozemeljski širitvi Slovenije praktično nista poročala. Tako kot pred leti nista poročala, da se je Slovenija temu ozemlju prostovoljno odrekla. V letih 1955 in 1956 bi širši komentar zakonodajnega postopka mejne spremembe verjetno zahteval tudi pojasnilo, zakaj se je slovenska politika leta 1947 odločila tako, kot se je.

VNOVIČ V SLOVENIJI

Priključitev Sloveniji je prinesla precejšnjo dozo optimizma. Prebivalci Gradina so znova razvili širšo družbeno dejavnost. V koprskem političnem vrhu so kot primer »visoke politične zavesti« ter požrtvovalnega in vztrajnega dela pohvalili prav Gradin, »kjer še pred nekaj leti ni bilo organizacije SZDL«, torej naslednice OF, ki je bila v Gradinu ob koncu vojne in neposredno po njej zelo delovna. Pred prvimi volitvami v Socialistično zvezo delovnega ljudstva (SZDL) po vnovični vključitvi kraja v Slovenijo, marca 1956, so se v akciji vpisa v SZDL angažirali nekdanji domači partizani in koprške politične organizacije in »danes je v tej vasi vključenih v organizacijo nad 80 % vseh volivcev«. ³⁶ Prebivalci Pregare so upali, da bo konec gospodar-

skega zastoja in da bo modernizacija pokukala tudi v njihov kraj: »Vsa leta po osvoboditvi smo slišali, kako v bližnjih vaseh gradijo in popravljajo vodnjake, ceste in poslopja, pri nas do sedaj še nismo bili v stanu napraviti kaj takega.« Najprej bi rabili novo vodno napeljavo in popravilo ceste do Gradina. Dela bi se lotili kar sami, so obljubili Pregarčani, le da bi dobili sredstva za material. ³⁷

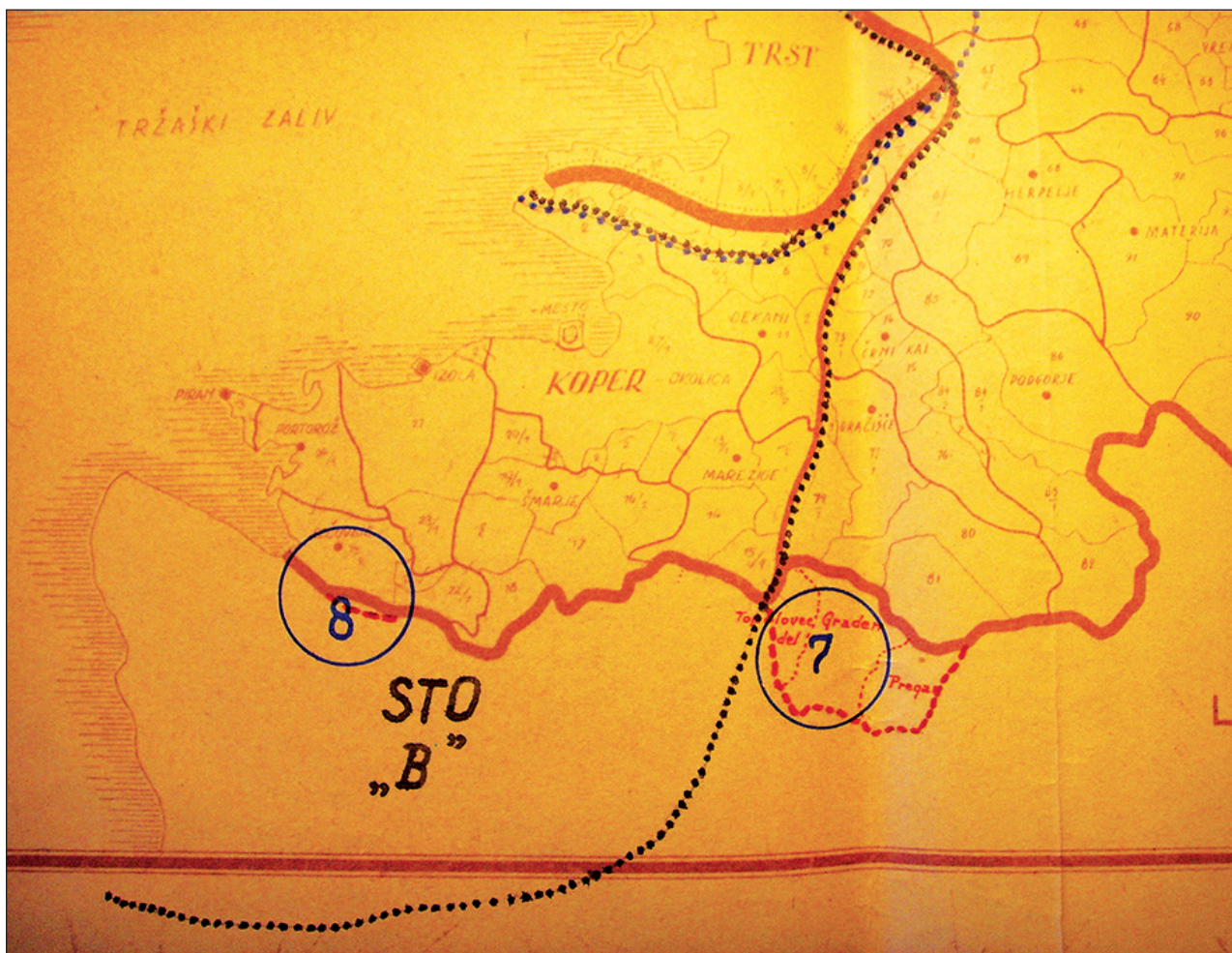
Toda prvotni zanos je začel kmalu usihati, saj sprememba ni prinesla hitrih izboljšav, ki so se jim nadejali domačini. Nekatere spremembe so bile davek časa, ki jih ni mogla zajezi nobena lokalna oblast, bodisi hrvaška bodisi slovenska. Notranjost Istre se je začela prazniti, saj so se predvsem mladi odseljevali v bližnja industrijska središča. Val izseljevanja Italijanov in deloma Slovencev in Hrvatov, ki so po Spomenici o soglasju optirali za Italijo, teh krajev ni pretirano prizadel, saj je bilo Italijanov malo, čeprav so bili podatki o njihovi številčnosti dokaj nezanesljivi (Lavrenčič, 2012, 513–515). Izseljevanje velikega števila prebivalcev Istre za novo potegnjeno državno mejo, v Trst in njegovo okolico, je bolj občutila zahodna obala Istre, Gradina in okolice, kjer je bilo italijansko govorečega prebivalstva le za vzorec, pa ne. Na izseljevanje so bolj vplivali ekonomski vzroki, saj v Gradinu in okolici niso odprli dislociranih obratov iz Kopra in drugih obalnih mest, kot so upali domačini. Delo se ni selilo k ljudem, zato so se ljudje seliti proti mestom, kjer je vladalo vse večje povpraševanje po delovni sili. Prebivalstvo majhnih krajev se je ponekod v nekaj desetletjih prepolovilo, trend naglega padanja pa se ni ustavil. Kot primer omenimo vas Abitanti, tri kilometre južneje od Gradina povsem na meji, ki so imeli sredi stoletja približno 140 prebivalcev, pol stoletja kasneje pa nobenega (Pucer, 2005, 59).

Ernest Boškin, ki je bil tudi naslednja desetletja aktiven pri vseh dejavnostih, je omenil, da je po letu 1955 oživel delovanje lokalnih družbenopolitičnih organizacij v Gradinu, Topolovcu in Pregari, ki so se usmerili v reševanje gospodarske in socialne problematike. Do sredine šestdesetih let, ko so se začele večje družbene investicije v ta košček Slovenije, po Boškinovih besedah ni bilo narejenega toliko, kot so domačini po vnovični vključitvi v Slovenijo verjetno pričakovali, saj so iz občinskega proračuna dobili le skromna sredstva za zasilno vzdrževanje cest.

Do takrat še ni bilo asfaltiranih petnajst kilometrov krajevnih in štirinajst kilometrov občinskih cest, ni bila urejena elektrika, ni bilo zgrajeno telekomunikacijsko omrežje, ni bilo prepotrebni družbeni objekti za lažje delovanje krajevnih skupnosti, ni bilo trgovine za boljše

³⁶ Slovenski Jadran, 23. 3. 1956: Potrdilo visoke politične zavesti, 1.

³⁷ Slovenski Jadran, 19. 8. 1955: Pregara, 4.



Slika 4: Del zemljevida Slovenije, ki ga je Geodetska uprava Ljudske republike Slovenije dostavila slovenski vladi avgusta 1955. Na zemljevidu je označila problematične točke meje ob slovensko-hrvaški meji v povojnem obdobju. V Istri sta označena dva odseka, vprašanje Gradina in okolice ter spor zaradi vasi ob spodnjem toku Dragonje (SI AS 223, š. 630, 184/55).

preskrbo občanov z živili, ni bilo kmetijske organizacije, bili smo skoraj brez prometnih zvez in brez možnosti zaposlitve, standard je bil na zelo nizki stopnji (Boškin, 1985, 52).

Vnovična sprememba meje je na plan prinesla celo stare težave. Kot nekakšno kazen upornim vasem so lahko domačini občutili potezo hrvaškega elektro gospodarstva, da so jim po »izstopu« iz Hrvaške takoj odklopili elektriko in so bili brez nje približno pol leta. Domačinka Marija je povedala, da je zato prvega sina rodila ob petrolejki. Njen mož pa je dodal, da je radio, ker ga pač ni imel kam vključiti, podaril sestri, ki je živela na Reki, in da »so bili hudi časi brez luči i radia« (Medica, 2006, 52). Po več mesecih so jim zopet vrnili elektriko, še vedno iz Hrvaške, saj s slovenskim omrežjem še nekaj let niso bili povezani. Šele v drugi polovici šestdesetih, je omenil Boškin, ko se je začel hitrejši

razvoj, je bila »obnovljena elektrika in preklapljena s hrvaškega na slovensko omrežje« (Boškin, 1985, 52).

Središče dogajanja je ostajala šola, učitelj pa eden najpomembnejših osebnosti na vasi. Toda tudi v tem pogledu so se začele dogajati spremembe, ki so Gradin in manjše zaselke odrinjale še bolj na obrobje. Leta 1955 so prvi učenci vstopili v novo zgrajeno šolo v Gračišču, nekaj manj kot 10 kilometrov severneje od Gradina, bližje glavnim prometnim potem. Šola so v naslednjih desetletjih dograjevali, v času šolske reforme pa je postala osrednja šola za širše območje, h kateremu je gravitiralo več manjših vaških šol, ki so jih spreminjali v podružnične šole ali pa preprosto ukinjali. Šola v Gradinu je bila med zadnjimi še delujočimi v oddaljenih vasi Slovenske Istre. Do reorganizacije šolske mreže po osnovnošolski reformi v letu 1959 je še delovala kot popolna osemletna, pred šolskim letom 1962/63 je bila preoblikovana v

podružnično šolo, eno od sedmih podružnic centralne šole v Gračišču. Delovala je do leta 1973, od šolskega leta 1973/74 pa so se vsi otroci nekdanje občine Gradin začeli voziti k pouku v sodobno šolo v Gračišču. Marijan Šavron, kasneje ravnatelj šole v Gračišču, se je takole spominjal svojih učiteljskih začetkov:

Ko sem učil na Gradinu, so ljudje prihajali k meni, da sem jim sestavljal in pisal prošnje. Prihajali so po nasvete. Prihajali so, da so mi potožili o svojih težavah v družini in o težavah, ki so jih imeli z oblastjo. Za njih sem bil maeštro, tajnik, advokat, posrednik med sprtima kmetoma, prva pomoč, pomoč v sili, in vse drugo (Tomšič, 1985, 57).

Eden od pogojev za uvedbo popolnega predmetnega pouka za vse otroke je bilo izboljšanje prometnih povezav do takrat prometno skorajda odrezanih krajev. Domačini so bili nezadovoljni s prepočasnimi vpeljevanjem novih avtobusnih linij. »Že nekajkrat smo se pritožili nad izredno neugodnimi prometnimi zvezami, ki jih imamo prebivalci Gračišča, Movraža in Gradin s Koprom, kjer je sedež naše občine«, so že nekaj mesecev po uradni priključitvi Sloveniji, julija 1956, zapisali v pismih bralcev v Slovenskem Jadranu. Ker so za opravke lahko porabili po cel dan, so pozvali avtobusno podjetje Slavnik iz Kopra, naj okrepi linije do njihovih krajev.³⁸ V začetku reorganiziranja šolske mreže ob koncu petdesetih in v začetku šestdesetih so si morali pomagati na vse mogoče načine. »Otroke smo vozili v šolo tudi z vozom. No, potem nam je kmalu pomagal Slavnik, ki je organiziral avtobus«, se je združevanja šolskih okolišev spominjal tedanji ravnatelj centralne šole v Gračišču Jože Mejak (Tomšič (ur.), 1985, 29). Novo avtobusno progo Pregara – Koper, ki je bila v prvi vrsti namenjena prevozu otrok, je prevozno podjetje Slavnik iz Kopra odprlo v šolskem letu 1960/61. V naslednjem ducatu let je sledilo zapiranje ene male vaške šole za drugo (Tomšič, 1985, 10–14).

Medtem ko je bilo za šolanje v slovenskem jeziku po premiku meje na hitro poskrbljeno, je z uporabo jezika v bogoslužju ostalo po starem. Spremembi republiške meje namreč ni sledilo tudi prilagajanje župnijskih in škofijskih meja. Gradin, Pregara in Topolovec so ostali del poreško-puljske nadškofije s hrvaškim bogoslužjem. Na to so opozarjali slovenski slavisti in Slavistično društvo je to navajalo ob boku bolj razvpitemu primeru Razkrižja (Dopis, 1973/74), kjer so slovenski verniki v Sloveniji desetletja vztrajno ponavljali zahtevo po slovenskem bogoslužju v svoji župniji, ki je sodila pod zagrebško nadškofijo. V goriškem *Katoliškem glasu* so po ustanovitvi Slovenske cerkvene pokrajine, še pred ustanovitvijo škofije Koper, ugotavljali, da Slovenska cerkvena pokrajina ni združila niti vseh vernikov v Sloveniji, saj ji pač ne pripadajo Razkrižje, Gradin, Pregara in Topolovec.³⁹ Šele po ustanovitvi škofije Koper leta 1977 so začeli cerkvene meje prilagajati novim državnim razmejitvam. Zato tudi ne preseneča, da je najstarejši prebivalec pred nekaj leti povedal, da »starejši še zmerom molimo u hrvaškem jeziku« (Rožac Darovec, 2015, 495).

Prenos oblasti s hrvaške na slovensko stran je tako ostajal na pol poti. Medtem ko so arhiv dotedanje občine Gradin, kolikor ga je pač bilo, avgusta 1955 skrbno popisali in predali komisiji novega občinskega ljudskega odbora Koper,⁴⁰ sta Slovenija in Hrvaška »pozabili« na prenos zemljiške knjige. Ta je ostala v Buzetu, kljub pozivanju domačinov, naj jih že vendarle prenesejo v Koper, pa prenosa niso opravili vse do razpada Jugoslavije in nastanka novih držav ter še dolgo potem ne (Medica, 2006, 52). Ko je prvopodpisani pod zapisnikom o prevzemu arhiva bivše občine Gradin Ernest Boškin opisal življenje in dosežke krajevne skupnosti Gradin v treh desetletjih po vnovični vključitvi v Slovenijo, je urednik zbornika ta zapis pospremil z naslovom: »Napredovali smo, vendar ne dovolj« (Boškin, 1985, 52).

38 Slovenski Jadran, 13. 7. 1956: Pismi uredništvu, 6.

39 Katoliški glas, 3. 8. 1972: »Slovenska cerkvena pokrajina?«, 1.

40 SI PAK 501, t.e. 2, a.e. 8, Zapisnik o prevzemu arhiva inventarja in drugih uradnih knjig dosedanjega Občinskega ljudskega odbora Gradin, 31. 8. 1955.

GRADIN BETWEEN SLOVENIA AND CROATIA

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SUMMARY

The contribution presents the Slovenian-Croatian border changes near Gradin or in what were then the municipalities of Gradin, Pregara, and Črnica. Towards the end of the war, the majority of the local population opted for annexation to Slovenia. However, in 1947, when this territory went to Yugoslavia in accordance with the peace treaty with Italy, these towns were annexed to the Buzet district or to the People's Republic of Croatia. The Slovenian population engaged in passive resistance and kept refusing the authority of the Croatian side for a long time. Despite the initial promises that Slovenian police officers and teachers would remain in this area, the former were swiftly replaced, while Slovenian language disappeared from schools after a few years. In June 1955, the majority of the population expressed a wish to be included in the People's Republic of Slovenia, and therefore the Slovenian government proposed to the government of Croatia that the border be changed. The republican governments reached an agreement, which was then implemented in accordance with the constitutional principles, set out in the Yugoslav Constitution. The agreement was first confirmed by the Assemblies of both republics, Croatia and Slovenia, while in March 1956, the ordinance on the alteration of the borders between the republics was also confirmed by the Federal People's Assembly. This was the only example of an alteration of the Slovenian-Croatian border that was confirmed in the manner as prescribed by the Yugoslav Constitution, while the questions involving the other disputed border sections remained unsolved until the independence of both states.

Keywords: Slovenia, Croatia, Slovenian-Croatian border, Gradin, Pregara, border change, border issue

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OPAZKE K ČLANKU BOŽA REPETA »VLOGA MILANA KUČANA V SLOVENSKI ZUNANJI POLITIKI«, ANNALES, SERIES HISTORIA ET SOCIOLOGIA, 2017, 27, 4, str. 743–754.

Članek, ki je nastal v okviru – s strani države financiranega – raziskovalnega projekta *Slovenski diplomati in zunanjepolitični vidiki osamosvajanja Republike Slovenije, 1980–1992*, vsebuje veliko napak in nejasnosti. To je posebej zaskrbljujoče, ker je to eden tistih projektov, ki leto za letom izrivajo iz razpisov in programov ARRS najmanj enakovredne, če ne bolj kvalificirane, vsekakor pa manj pristranske raziskovalne projekte o osamosvajanju in državnosti Republike Slovenije. Razlika je v tem, da gre v primeru Boža Repeta in njegovega portretiranca za posvečena in nedotakljiva politična sporočila, drugi raziskovalci pa svoje delo predstavljajo v posameznih knjigah in člankih, vendar za svoj račun.

Repe zbujajo pozornost že z naslovom, saj med letoma 1980 in 1992 slovenska zunanja politika ni obstajala, če pa je obstajala, je obstajala v redkih prispevkih iz opozicijskih vrst, pri čemer imam v mislih *Novo revijo* in tiste njene avtorje, ki so se že pred osamosvojitvijo zavzemali za samostojno državo, ki bi ustvarjala svojo lastno zunanjo politiko iz Ljubljane, ne preko Beograda. Jugoslovanska zunanja politika je res vsebovala nekaj diplomatov in partijskih funkcionarjev slovenskega rodu, vendar je šlo za znano in neprijetno politiko neuvrčenosti, ki je Jugoslavijo povezovala z najmanj razvitimi, ideološko in vojaško hujšakškimi državami zunaj Evrope. Repetova odločitev, da postavi svojo raziskavo o »slovenskih diplomatih« v obdobje pred slovensko državnostjo (1980–1992), je povezana s kariero portretiranca Milana Kučana, ki je večino svojega političnega (in diplomatskega?) življenja preživel v jugoslovanskem kontekstu. Repe omenja, da so Kučana predlagali za jugoslovanskega zunanjega ministra, kar bi lahko kazalo na splošno (beograjsko? ljubljansko?) percepcijo portretirančeve zunanje politike; pri čemer piše, da je šlo za manever, s katerim naj bi Kučana izločili iz jugoslovanske politike. Takšen sklep je nerazumljiv, saj imenovanje za jugoslovanskega zunanjega ministra pač ne more pomeniti izločitve iz jugoslovanske politike. Repe ne pove, kdo je Kučana predlagal za zunanjega ministra in kdo je temu predlogu nasprotoval.

Na začetku teh (polemičnih) opazk moram seveda povedati, da spoštujem in pozitivno ocenjujem prispevek nekdanjega predsednika Kučana pri osamosvajanju Slovenije. Vendar je bil Milan Kučan – pač v skladu z zakonodajo in politično realnostjo – pred-

vsem glasnik in razlagalec zunanje politike, ki jo je oblikovala vlada oz. njena koalicija, ki se je imenovala Demos. Repe nekoliko pretirava, ko postavlja Kučana za glavnega junaka Brionske deklaracije in začetnika slovenske diplomacije, ki se je zares začela na Brionih. Poleg Kučana je slovenska delegacija po sklepu vodstva osamosvojitve (oz. razširjenega predsedstva) vsebovala vsaj še tri glavne junake: člana predsedstva SFRJ Janeza Drnovška, predsednika parlamenta Franceta Bučarja in predsednika vlade Lojzeta Peterleta. Kučan je na pogajanjih zastopal splošno znano stališče Slovenije, da se ne mislimo odpovedati političnim oz. vojaškim dosežkom, ampak da smo pred nadaljnjimi koraki pripravljeni čakati tri mesece. Pomembnejšo vlogo od Kučana je imel Drnovšek, ki se je v ozadju Brionov pogajal z Borisavom Jovićem o umiku JLA iz Slovenije. Kučan je bolj kot na Brionih blestel pred Brioni, na dveh sestankih z evropsko trojko v Zagrebu. Na Brionih navzoči pisec teh vrstic je k odločanju slovenske delegacije, ki se je v nekem trenutku že poslavljala od osamosvojitvenega podjetja, prispeval spodbudno stališče, da se je mogoče o seznamu štirih pogojev – kljub prvotnemu izsiljevanju Hansa van den Broeka – vendar še pogajati.

Nerodno napako je Repe zagrešil pri zgodbi o *slovenskem nasledstvu Osimskih sporazumov*. O njih ni odločal – kot piše Repe – socialistični zunanji minister v Andreottijevi vladi Gianni de Michelis, čigar mandat se je nehal 28. junija 1992, ampak diplomati v Farnesini v času menjave Vicenza Scottija z Emilijom Colombom (28. julij – 1. avgust 1992). Italija je veljavnost Osimskih sporazumov potrdila 31. julija 1992, vendar ne v parlamentu – kot napačno piše



Slika 1: Brioni, 7. julija 1991. Pogovori predstavnikov s strani JLA napadene Slovenije z jugoslovanskimi in evropskimi kolegi. Za mizo sedijo od leve proti desni: Dimitrij Rupel, France Bučar, Lojze Peterle, Milan Kučan in Janez Drnovšek (Foto: Joco Žnidaršič, Fotodokumentacija: osebni arhiv Dimitrija Rupla).



Slika 2: ZDA, Ovalna soba, november 1998. Obisk slovenskih predstavnikov v Beli hiši: stojijo od leve proti desni: Dimitrij Rupel, Boris Frlec, Janez Drnovšek, William Jefferson Clinton, Madeleine Jana Korbel Albright, Sandy Berger, svetovalec za nacionalno varnost (Fotodokumentacija: osebni arhiv Dimitrija Rupla).

Repe – ampak z izmenjavo diplomatskih not. Postopek je vodil naš veleposlanik Marko Kosin.¹

Najresnejši problem Repetovega članka je njegova obravnava slovensko-hrvaških odnosov oz. pogajanj o državni meji. Repe navaja Kučanovo izjavo iz leta 2010, da je »skico tistega, kar je bilo kasneje vsebina in rešitev tako imenovanega sporazuma Drnovšek-Račan« v Kučanovi navzočnosti leta 1996 »izrisal« Iztok Simoniti, nakar naj bi bila »skica« ležala v predalu pri Drnovšku štiri leta. Drži, da se je z vprašanji državne meje ukvarjal tudi Iztok Simoniti, vendar je njegovo ukvarjanje propadlo na sestanku med Drnovškom in Valentičem v Mariboru leta 1995. Tuđman – kot je to nekoč slikovito opisal Borut Šuklje – sploh ni želel rešitve problema. Po Tuđmanovi smrti je pobudo za sporazumevanje s Hrvaško dal Drnovšek, s katerim sva dolgo in resno razpravljala o različnih rešitvah, nazadnje je prišel s pomočjo Janeza Kocijančiča signal iz Zagreba, v MZZ pa smo angažirali dr. Miha Pogačnika. O predlaganem načrtu z dimnikom in o meji ob Dragonji sta se zadnjo noč po telefonu dogovarjala Drnovšek in Račan. Da bi do osnovnega dogovora, iz katerega bi nastal sporazum Drnovšek-Račan, prišlo med Kučanom in Tuđmanom, ni res. Res pa je, da sta se pisec

teh vrstic in novi hrvaški predsednik Mesić leta 2000 na neki vožnji od slovensko-hrvaške meje do Planice strinjala, da Slovenija potrebuje teritorialni dostop do odprtega morja, Hrvaška pa mejo z Italijo (t.i. eksklava). Menda zato, da bi mejila na državo, ki je članica EU in Nata.

V zvezi z Natom bi morali pojasniti tudi Kučanovo kritiko »vojaškega posega v Srbiji« oz. bombardiranja Beograda leta 1999. Naj poskusim sam: bombardiranje je sledilo eksodusu Albancev s Kosova in srbsko-ruske-mu spodkopavanju mirovnega procesa v Rambouilletu. Ta poseg, ki ga slovenska diplomacija v nasprotju s Kučanom ni kritizirala, je pripeljal do konca Miloševićevega režima in jugoslovanske krize.

Piscu teh vrstic je bil do branja Repetovega članka neznan avtorjev oz. Roterjev podatek, da bi se bil Kučan (v času pred mednarodnim priznanjem?) »nekajkrat srečal s šefom Cie«. Če se je srečal v času, ko sem bil minister (to pa je bilo do leta 1993), bi to najbrž vedel, če pa mi tega niso povedali, bi bil to nekakšen škandal. Posebej me je začudilo Repetovo seštevanje obiskov, ki naj bi jih bili Kučanu »vrnili« šefi držav. Bill Clinton recimo ni vrnil obiska Kučanu, ampak Drnovšku, ki je bil v Beli hiši novembra 1998, pozneje pa še večkrat, običajno v družbi spodaj podpisanega.

Neuslišani poziv osmih nekdanjih sarajevskih županov leta 2005, naj Kučan postane novi predstavnik mednarodne skupnosti v BiH namesto Paddyja Ashdowna, za Repetovo zgodbo o slovenski diplomaciji ne pomeni veliko. Negativni odločitvi seveda niso botrovale domnevne mednarodne izkušnje portretiranja, s katerimi svoj članek poantira Repe, ampak nasprotno, pomanjkanje zaupanja mednarodne skupnosti v Kučanove diplomatske kompetence. Neuslišanih pobud je bilo pri Kučanu (pa še pri marsikomu, tudi pri piscu teh vrstic) še več. Kot je razvidno iz Repetovega članka, niso nikamor prišla srečanja srednjeevropskih predsednikov. Nezanimiva so postala, ko sta odšla Havel in Wałęsa, s katerim se Kučan ni mogel dobro razumeti.

Pomemben prispevek Milana Kučana k slovenski diplomaciji, pri katerem je bil navzoč pisec teh vrstic, pa je bil njegov sestanek s francoskim predsednikom Mitterandom, ki ga je pomagal organizirati veliki slovenski slikar Zoran Mušič. Slovenski predsednik je prepričljivo branil slovensko politiko pri francoskem ljubitelju Srbov. Repe bi moral pri tem omeniti, da Mitterand Kučanu obiska ni nikoli »vrnil«, razložil pa bi lahko tudi, zakaj je bilo tako.

Dimitrij Rupel

¹ Kaže, da Božo Repe ne pozna moje knjige *Železo in žamet* (2017), kjer o zadevi pišem na straneh 100 in 200.

OCENE
RECENSIONI
REVIEWS

Alenka Divjak:

SUSTAINABLE TOURISM BETWEEN ESPERANTO AND
ENGLISH. LAP Lambert Academic Publishing, 2020,
132 strani.

Monografija dr. Alenke Divjak z naslovom *Sustainable tourism between Esperanto and English* prinaša inovativno delo na interdisciplinarnem področju trajnostnega turizma, na katerem se prepletajo številne znanosti, vključno z lingvistiko, ki pa je pogosto potisnjena na obrobje. Prav zato knjiga, ki jezik postavlja v središče in analizira njegovo vlogo, predstavlja pomemben prispevek k razmisleku o ustreznejši umestitvi ne zgolj esperanta, ampak na splošno jezikov in jezikoslovja v turizmu.

Monografija, izdana pri založbi Lambert Academic Publishing, obsega 132 strani in je razdeljena na 8 poglavij, ki si sledijo v naslednjem vrstnem redu: *The development and perspectives of Esperanto – some thoughts, Esperanto organizations and their links with international associations, Sustainable development, Beginnings of Esperanto in commerce and tourism, Esperantists as tourists, Esperanto as a useful tool in tourism – some thoughts, The prospects of Esperanto in the 21st century, Some concluding thoughts.*

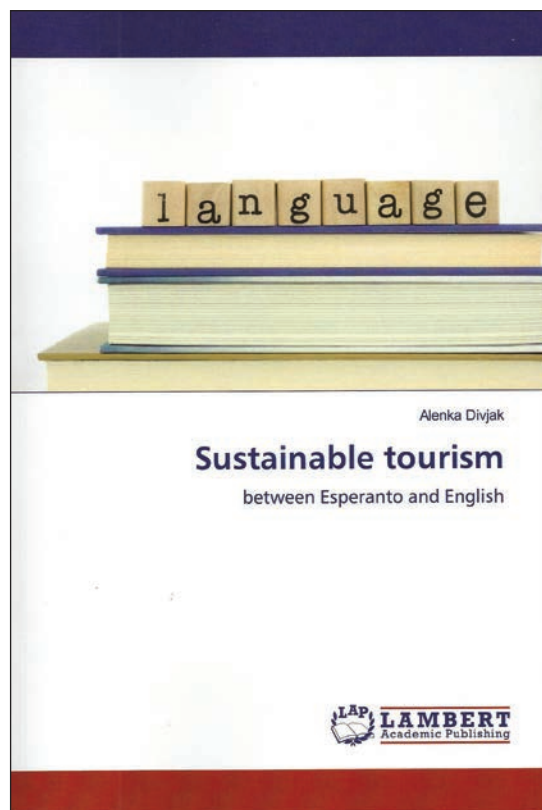
Knjiga niza podatke o spreminjanju vloge esperanta skozi čas in vabi k razmišljanju o tem, kakšen je današnji položaj esperanta v družbi in turizmu, ki želi biti trajnosten. Prav zaradi specifičnega fokusa predstavlja svež in dobrodošel prispevek tako na področju jezikoslovja kot tudi na področju turizma, ki je izrazito interdisciplinarno področje, tesno povezano z jezikoslovjem in mnogimi drugimi znanostmi. Avtorica osvetljuje vlogo esperanta pred 1. svetovno vojno in med obema svetovnima vojnoma ter takratni pomen tega jezika primerja s sedanjim. Meni, da danes potencial esperanta v turizmu ni izkoriščen, ker da so dejavnosti promocije esperanta osredinjene na ozek krog tako imenovanih esperanto-turistov. V svoji raziskavi, ki jo utemeljuje predvsem na metodi analize vsebine in ki jo sama na več mestih v knjigi skromno imenuje esej, opozarja na spregledanost esperanta v medijih, šolstvu, strokovnih in znanstvenih publikacijah, za kar delno krivi angleščino kot *linguo franco*, ki je kot marsikje po svetu tudi v Sloveniji najbolj vpliven in priljubljen tuji jezik. In je posledično že dolgo prevladujoči jezik tudi v turizmu. Zakaj se torej avtorica, ki je hkrati učiteljica angleščine in izjemno dobra poznavalka obravnavanega področja, trudi s premišljevanjem o vpeljavi esperanta v turizem? Na prvi pogled se morda zdi, da gre za Sizifovo delo, tudi avtorica že v predgovoru piše, da utegne kdo poreči, da se krega z

belim kruhom, toda zaključki, do katerih argumentirano pripelje, so zgovorni in kličejo k razmišljanju izven okvirjev, v katere se pogosto ujamemo tudi strokovne javnosti. Raba esperanta prispeva k splošni jezikovni osveščenosti in je ne zgolj tehtna jezikoslovna, ampak tudi relevantna družbeno-politična in ekonomska tema. Pristop k turizmu, zasnovan na esperantu, tako imenovani esperanto-pristop k turizmu, je lahko poskus, morda orodje, kako zajeziti trend množičnega turizma in ga obrniti k trajnostnemu, zelenemu, odgovornemu, petzvezdičnemu in butičnemu turizmu, ki ga predvideva tudi Strategija trajnostne rasti slovenskega turizma 2017–2021 in ki bi ga lahko poimenovali tudi »esperanto turizem«, kar bi označevalo turizem po trajnostnih načelih za majhne skupine.

Monografija dr. Alenke Divjak predstavlja priložnost za veselje, vrednotenje, učenje in nadgradnjo. Vsekakor je koristno čtivo za načrtovalce razvoja turizma in pripravljavce učnih načrtov za izobraževanje v turizmu ter hkrati dragocen zapis o dosedanjem in potencialnem razvoju esperanta, ki med drugim odpira pomembna vprašanja o prihodnjem razvoju civilizacij, narodov, kultur in jezikov.

Avtorici čestitam za opravljeno delo in pogum, da je kljub samoizpraševanju o smiselnosti pričujočega dela, realizirala njegovo izdajo.

Jasna Potočnik Topler



Vili Ravnjak (ur.):
 100 LET SLOVENSKEGA NARODNEGA GLEDALIŠČA
 V MARIBORU: DRAMA, OPERA, BALET. Maribor,
 Slovensko narodno gledališče, Umetniški kabinet
 Primož Premzl, 2019,
 659 strani.

Začetek obsežne ali kar monumentalne knjižne izdaje in s katero se v tem trenutku ne more ponašati prav nobeno drugo ali podobno slovensko gledališče se glasi:

Z vidika večnosti je naših 'sto let' samo bežen trenutek. Ob dejstvu, da je v SNG Maribor v stotih letih ustvarjalo preko 500 različnih gledaliških umetnikov in približno toliko tehničnih in drugih sodelavcev, ki je skupaj ustvarilo 1649 premier s približno 22.000 predstavami, postanejo imena posameznih ustvarjalcev in dogodkov del velike 'anonimne množice'. Ne glede na to, kako je kdo pomemben oziroma umetniško ustvarjal v svojem času, smo v resnici vsi samo 'brezosebna manifestacija kozmičnega principa Umetnosti na minljivem odru človeškega Sveta!'



Tole je citat, s katerim je (urednik) **Vili Ravnjak** zaključil monografijo **100 let Slovenskega narodnega gledališča Maribor** ali kar vseh njenih treh izvajalskih ansamblov: *drame, opere in baleta*.

Zato je bilo leto 2019 v Mariboru v znamenju 100.-obletnice Slovenskega narodnega gledališča ali kar vseh njenih treh izvajalskih ansamblov: *Drame, Opere in Baleta*. Saj tako bivša mala in stara dvorana kot sedaj že desetletja povsem na novo zgrajeni veliki avditorij, združujejo največjo in osrednjo slovensko kulturno inštitucijo. Pojavljale so se tako kot si sledijo v omenjeni obširni, obsežni, da ne zapišem voluminozni knjižni monografiji urednika V. Ravnjaka. Ta na velikem, večjem od A-4 formata, knjižnem obsegu (skoraj 4,00 ali natančno 3,745 kg težki knjigi) prinaša v glavnem obširno in obsežno, bogato slikovno gradivo; urejeno po kronologiji nastankov na vsega 659 (oštevilčenih) straneh. Besedila so prispevali še Saša Arsenovič, Blaž Brodnjak, Jerneja Ferlež, Primož Jesenko, Blaž Lukan, Tone Partljič, Zoran Poznič, Danilo Rošker, Manica Špendal, Benjamin Virč in Suzana Žilič Fišer. Slovensko narodno gledališče Maribor je lani (2019) praznovalo 100-letnico delovanja. Dne 27. septembra 1919 je na odru gledališča prvič zazvenela slovenska beseda. To gledališče obstaja sicer že od leta 1852, vendar je bilo takrat še nemško. Danes je SNG največji javni kulturni zavod v državi in obenem edino gledališče v Sloveniji in med redkimi v Evropi, ki pod eno streho združuje dramo, opero in balet ter simfonični orkester idr. Poleg umetnikov in drugih neposrednih (po)ustvarjalcev repertoarja so tu še strokovne in tehnične službe in ostala logistika. V SNG Maribor je več kot 300 stalno in okrog 150 honorarno zaposlenih ljudi. Obenem pa se pod isto streho nahaja še vsakoletni osrednji festival slovenskih dramskih gledališč *Borštnikovo srečanje* in tekmovanje mladih pevskih nadarjenцев »Ondina Otta.«

V Mariboru segajo prve (dramske) predstave še predno se je za njihovo 100-letnico delovanja (1919 ustanovitev *Dramatičnega društva Maribor* z začetkom stalnega polpoklicnega slovenskega gledališča v mariborskem *Narodnem domu*, 1909–1914) dvignila zavesa prvega slovenskega poklicnega gledališča v Mariboru za dramsko predstavo, gledališko igro, tragedijo Jurčič-Levstikovega *Tugomerja*, 27. septembra 1919. Še v isti, torej v prvi sezoni (1919/20) je bila 1. maja 1920 na sporedu tudi prva operetna predstava vodvil' *Mam 'zelle Nitouche* Louisa Augusta Florimonda Rougerja, francoskega skladatelja, prva opera pa »še« v naslednji sezoni (1920/21, 5. januarja 1921, enodejanka Čeha Vilema Bloudeka, *V vodnjaku*). Kajti redno predvojno delovanje mariborske *Opere* sega »še« v sezono 1922/23 pa do 1928. Kot prva baletna predstava je v Mariboru zabeležena Ipavčeva panto-

1 Iz franc. *vaudeville*, ki pomeni prvotno ljudsko pesem vesele, satirične vsebine. V (glasbenem) gledališču pa je to danes lahkotna vese-loigra, navadno enodejanka, s šaljivimi pevskimi vloži ali tudi gledališče, kjer take igre uprizarjajo.

mima² *Možiček* (27. april 1926). In tako je teklo vse do lani oz. do dandanes, razen s prekinitvijo v letih (2. svetovne) vojne (1941–1945). V tistem času so bile seveda v skladu z aktualno okupacijo v istih prostorih izključno nemške predstave, nemško gledališče. Prelomnice, ki se v omenjeni monografiji kažejo kot najbolj pomembne, so zagotovo: ponovno, povojno in neprekinjeno delovanje (1945–), začetek delovanja *Mariborske filharmonije* (1950–1965), začetek festivala *Teden slovenskih gledališč* (1966–1970; *Borštnikovo srečanje*, 1971–), začetek delovanja *Simfoničnega orkestra SNG* (1993–), otvoritev novozgrajene *Velike dvorane* (1994 z uprizoritvijo Verdijeve opere *Traviata*, 13. oktobra 1994), začetek *Mednarodnega tekmovanja mladih pevcev »Ondina Otta«* (1999–), začetek obnove *Stare dvorane* (prva premiera na obnovljenem odru Linhartova komedija *Matiček se ženi*, 15. oktobra 2003), leta 2003 pa si je *SNG Maribor* pridobilo nacionalni, vsedržavni položaj.

Tale kronika ali kar kronologija prinaša od uvoznikov do konca naslednja poglavja knjige: *Sobivanja različnosti* (V. Ravnjak; str. 14–21), *Gledališče v Mariboru pred letom 1919* (J. Ferlež; 22–51), *Maribor in gledališče* (T. Partljič; 52–69), *Ključni dogodki* (P. Jesenko; 70–173), *Stalnost v spreminjanju: Iskanje podob in vlog mariborske Drame v drugi polovici stoletja* (1967–2019; B. Lukan; 174–295), *Igralski ansambel* (1919–2019; 226–300), *Dobitniki Borštnikovega prstana* (člani in članice mariborskega SNG; 1970–; 301), *Zgodovina mariborske Opere od začetkov do danes* (M. Špendal; 302–333), *Med velikani mariborskega opernega Parnasa* (B. Virč; 334–423), *Zgodovina mariborskega baleta* (B. Virč; 424–517), *Zgodovina gradenj in obnavljanj stavbnega sklopa SNG Maribor* (1848–2003; V. Ravnjak; 518–569), *SNG Maribor v jubilejni sezoni 2019/2020* (570–587), *Repertoar Drame, Opere in Baleta* (1919–2019) s 1028 premierami v *Drami*, 502 v *Operi*, 119 baletnih, ali skupaj torej 1649 premierami v vseh treh umetniških enotah s približno 22.000 predstavami (v celoti; 588–591); gre še za spiske (vseh) upravnikov (593) in umetniških vodij oz. ravnateljev (594–596), popis (vseh) uprizoritev (597–636), statistiko del, ki so bila v *SNG Maribor* uprizorjena največkrat (637; med njimi najdemo največkrat izvedena dela: Cankarjevo *Pohujšanje v dolini šentflorjanski*, Linhartov *Ta veseli dan* ali *Matiček se ženi* in Shakespearjev *Sen kresne noči*, med operami so to Verdijeva *Traviata*, Puccinijeva *La Bohème*, Smetanova *Prodana nevesta* in Foersterjev *Gorenjski slavček*, med operetami pa še Kálmánova *Grofica Marica* in Straussov *Netopir*; med baleti pa P. I. Čajkovskega *Hrestač*, Hrističeva *Ohridska legenda* in Delibesova *Coppélia*, repertoarno kazalo (638–642) in kazalo osebnih imen (643–651), avtorji in lastniki fotografij

oz. slikovnega gradiva (652–653) in *Summary* (povzetek monografije v angl. jeziku; B. Virč; 654–659). Na koncu so še logosi nekaterih najodmevnejših mecenov izdaje (4 nepaginirane strani). Ti dajo vedeti, kdo to so. Celotna knjiga zlasti pa še oblikovanje slikovnega gradiva (na stotine objavljenih tovrstnih dokumentov v različnih oblikah in vsebinah) pa so bili lahko objavljeni po dosežkih urednika slikovnega gradiva (in njegovega opisa/komentarjev P. Premzl; razen v besedilu J. Ferlež) in grafičnem oblikovanju ter prelomu (M. Wenzel). Med slikami (fotografije, gledališki listi, letaki, plakati, ...) sem jih mdr. naštel čez 700 (723), ali po W. Shakespearu (Prosperov monolog iz *Viharja*): »Iz takšne smo snovi kot sanje, in življenje naše majhno obdaja spanje.« Med njimi najdemo 2-stranske in celostranske, črno bele in barvne slike pa vse do miniaturo (portreti nekaterih) akterjev *SNG Maribor* v omenjenem, več kot sto let trajajočem zgodovinskem razvoju mariborskih ansambllov: *Drame, Opere in Baleta SNG Maribor*.

Med večjimi ali kar najbolj izpostavljenimi imeni, ki so vseh teh sto letih vodili *SNG Maribor* so: Hinko Nučič, Juro Kislinger, Stane Jurgec in zadnji aktualni Danilo Rošker (2001–). Med umetniškimi vodji ali kar ravnatelji *Drame* spet: H. Nučič, Milan in Vladimir Skrbinišek, Miran Hercog, Ferdo Delak, Fran Žižek, Branko Gombač, Bojan Štih, V. Ravnjak, Tomaž Pandur, nazadnje pa še Aleksandar Popovski (2018–); umetniški vodje oz. ravnatelji *Opere* Anton Neffat, Demetriž Žebre, Ciril Cvetko, Jakov Cipci, Vladimir Kobler, Boris Švara, Henrik Neubauer, Stane Jurgec in nazadnje Simon Krečič (2013–). Med vodji *Baleta* pa so popisani še Marta Remškar, Peter Golovin, Maks in Irena Kirbos, Iko Otrin, Edi Dežman, Ljiljana Keča Rošker in sedanji aktualni vodja Edward Klug (2003–). Za marsikaterega od njih bi lahko zapisali, da so igrali v *SNG Maribor* po večkrat kar več vlog, za mnogimi med njimi pa je ostal trajen ali kar neizbrisen pečat vodenja ali celo epohe določene enote tega največjega in vsedržavnega kulturnega hrama v Mariboru.

Kolofon te knjige oz. monografije nam razbere še lektorico (Mojca Marič), korektorico (Snežana Štabi), avtorje kazal (S. Štabi, P. Premzl in Katarina Kraševac), med lastniki slikovnega gradiva so to *SNG Maribor*, / druge/ javne institucije in (navedeni) zasebniki, grafično oblikovanje in prelom (M. Wenzel in *Milimeter Studio*), reprografija (*Atelje za črko in sliko/Murska Sobota*), tisk in vezava (*Florjančič tisk/Maribor*). Delo je izšlo v nakladi 1.500 izvodov (v prvi izdaji), izdajatelj in založnik *SNG Maribor* (zanj direktor D. Rošker) in sozaložnik *Umetniški kabinet Primož Premzl*.

Franc Križnar

2 Gledališka igra z gibi in mimiko brez besed.

Duška Žitko:

EL TARTINI IN PIASSA / TARTINI NA TRGU. Piran,
Pomorski muzej »Sergej Mašera«, 2019,
155 strani.

Letošnje (2020) »Tartinijevo leto« glasbeno vrtil med Slovenijo in Italijo. Kajti ves glasbeno omikani svet obhaja 250-letnico smrti violinista in violinskega pedagoga, skladatelja in glasbenega teoretika: roj. je bil pri nas, v Piranu (8. apr. 1692, umrl pa 26. feb. 1770 v Padovi). Sicer Italijan, je bil torej slovenskega rodu oz. rojen na Slovenskem v Piranu/Pirano. Večinoma je živel in deloval v Padovi in Pragi. Bil je zagotovo neke vrste glasbeni poliglot. Glasbeno šolanje je začel v rodnem Piranu in sosednjem Kopru. 16-leten se je (1708) vpisal na Pravno fakulteto v italijanski Padovi. V Assisiju je v samostanu študiral violino in osnove kompozicije ter raziskoval akustične glasbene zakonitosti. Od 1714 je igral v opernem orkestru v Anconi in leta 1721 postal prvi violinist-koncertni mojster v baziliki sv. Antona v Padovi. V letih 1723–1726 je bil na gostovanju v Pragi, 1727 pa je v Padovi ustanovil svojo lastno violinsko šolo. Iz nje so izšli pomembni violinisti tistega časa. Tartini je obogatil violinsko tehniko: uporabljal je debelejšje strune, daljši lok, izpopolnil je tehniko leve roke violinske igre in iznašel ti. diferenčni ton.³ Avtorsko je ustvarjal instrumentalno glasbo, saj njegov opus obsega ok. 125 solističnih koncertov, največ violinskih in 200 violinskih sonat. Izmed njih je zagotovo najznamenitejša *Vražji trilček* (1713; dandanašnje obliko ji je dal sloviti violinski virtuoz Fritz Kreisler, 1875–1962).⁴ Tu je še ok. 50 *trioson*. Pisal pa je tudi razprave o akustičnih vprašanjih (*Traktat o glasbi*, 1754).

Knjiga opisuje ne le Tartinija pač pa tudi Piran v drugi polovici 19. stol. ter ozadje in priprave na največji dogodek v zgodovini Pirana, otvoritev spomenika Tartiniju l. 1896 v slovenščini, angleščini in italijanščini. Naslov knjige je povzet po citatu znanega vzklika številnih in ponosnih Pirančanov ob tem slavnostnem dogodku. Tudi predstavitev knjige (5. feb. 2020) je bila simbolno postavljena na Tartinijev trg in v Tartinijevo rojstno hišo. Danes je tu sedež Združenja oz. Samoupravne skupnosti Italijanov G. Tartini (Kajuhova ul. 5) s stalno muzejsko zbirko Pomorskega muzeja »S. Mašera« (v še eni od bližnjih ulic na Cankarjevem nabrežju 3); vse skupaj je pa en veliki Tartini v sicer majhnem in starodavnem obmorskem mestu Piran.

Tokratna zgodba o spomeniku, ki jo je v knjigo *El Tartini in piassa* prelila Duška Žitko, se bere kot napet roman, poln detajlov iz tistih časov. Obenem pa je knjiga sama vpeta v letošnje (2020) Tartinijevo leto. Pirančani in celoten slovenski narod s številnimi kulturnimi dogodki praznujejo 250. obletnico smrti svojega

najbolj slavnega meščana Giuseppeja Tartinija. Ta se zdaj veselo smehlja na spomeniku, medtem ko v roki drži violino in lok. L. 1896 ga je v bronu ustvaril beneški kipar in profesor na tamkajšnji Akademiji lepih umetnosti Antonio Dal Zotto (1852–1918): tenkočuten in prefinjen umetnik, dobro seznanjen s Tartinijem in z zavestjo, da mora Piranu izročiti svoje najboljše delo. Tudi zato je njegov avtor ponosno stopil 2. avg. (1896) pred sam Tartinijev spomenik (v Piranu) na novem trgu, danes Tartinijevem trgu, ki je bil komaj dve leti poprej še (piranski) mandrač.⁵ Takratna postavitve spomenika je bila za Piran pomemben zgodovinski dogodek - uokvirjen v posebno ozračje in hrepenenje. Razgibalo je večnacionalno istrsko sceno še v času avstrijske vladavine, v imenu italijanstva, ki je bilo še posebej živahno v urbanih središčih. Dogodek sam pa je bil kolektivni poklon najuglednejšemu med Pirančani, »učitelju narodov,« ki je s svojim opusom še pred prvimi zametki nacionalizma, postal ena od univerzalnih ikon glasbe. Avtorica D. Žitko, sicer umetnostna zgodovinarica, muzejska svetnica v Pomorskem muzeju »S. Mašera« Piran, v katerem tudi skrbijo za Tartinijevo zapuščino in tudi njegovo violino, ki pa je obiskovalcem na ogled v muzejski zbirki v njegovi rojstni hiši v Piranu. Avtorica z njo zdaj nadaljuje pisanje o dediščini G. Tartinija. Bralca seznani z ustvarjalnim in strastnim nabitim obdobjem ob koncu 19. stol. v Istri. Knjiga je obenem posvečena tudi slovitemu dirigentu in skladatelju Claudiju Scimoneju (1934–2018), ustanovitelju in doživljenjskemu umetniškemu vodji slovitih *I solisti Veneti/Beneški solisti*, ust. 1959; saj sta prav on in ansambel negovala prav poseben odnos do Tartinija, poudarja Žitkova, in sicer že od prvega njihovega koncerta (29. okt. 1959), ko so izvedli prvega od šestih Tartinijevih *Violinskih koncertov* D 85 (1725–1735). Dotlej so bila znana le redka Tartinijeva dela, Scimone in slavni orkester pa sta njegovo glasbo igrala nenehno. Vsako leto so priredili tudi koncert neizdanih rokopisov Tartinijevih del v ž. c. sv. Katarine v Padovi. In nenazadnje so l. 2016 na povabilo piranskega *Tartini festivala*, *Skupnosti Italijanov G. Tartinija Piran*, Pomorskega muzeja »S. Mašera« iz Pirana in piranske *Občine* odigrali slavnostni koncert ob 120. obletnici postavitve Tartinijevega spomenika.

Njegova podoba ali lik Tartinijevega kipa je očitno z enega od Tartinijevih koncertov, ko se njen glavni akter (Tartini) ves zadovoljen in prevzet od pravkar odigrane skladbe na rahlo priklanja ploskajoči množici. Kip dominira na današnjem osrednjem piranskem-Tartinijevem trgu tako zaradi dobro izbrane lokacije kot zaradi svojih monumentalnih dimenzij. Visok je kar 2,45 m, torej nadnaravne (človekove) velikosti in stoji na 4,22 m visokem podstavku. Ta je sestavljen iz dveh enot: kvadratnega kamnitega podesta, ograjenega s kovano

3 Kombinacijski ton, ki se sliši ob razliki frekvenc dveh tonov, ko npr. zvenita c2 = 517 Hz in g2 = 775 Hz, je slišati tudi g2-c2, tj. ton c1 = 258 Hz.

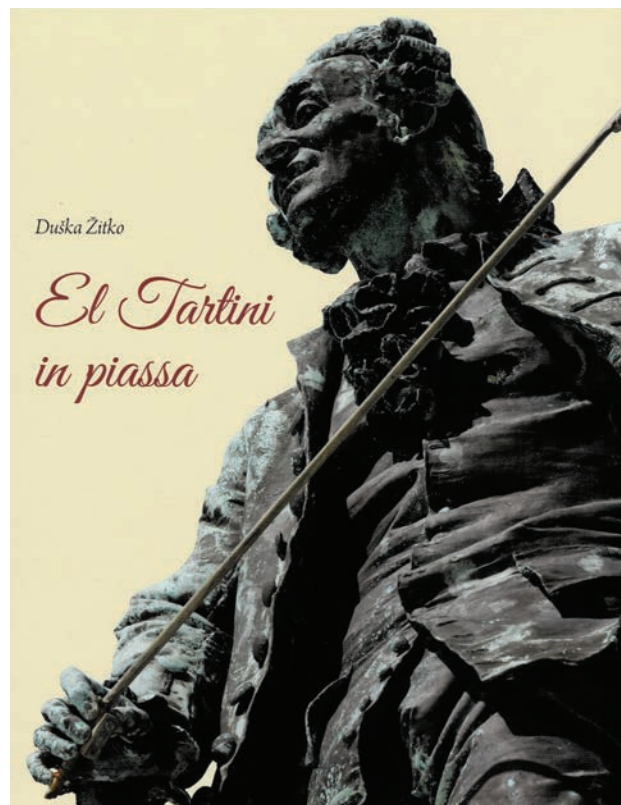
4 Sonata v g-molu iz leta 1713.

5 Mandrač ali notranje pristanišče za jadrnice in ribiške čolne. Navadno se je nahajal zunaj mestnega obzidja.

železno ograjo, na vogalih vpete v kamnite stebričke, in iz kamnitega klesanega pokončnega dela, okrašenega predvsem na posnetih vogalih z volutami,⁶ akantovimi⁷ listi in drugim neobaročnim kamnoseškim okrasjem; v čelnem polju je napis: *A GIUSEPPE TARTINI L'ISTRIA MDCCCLXXXVI* (1896). Skupaj s kipom ustvarja enoten vtis dominantne igrive lahkotnosti, ki od kovane ograje, polne polkrožnih krivih in spiralnih linij, prehaja prek mehko modeliranega kamnitega okrasja do bronaste sohe. G. Tartini je prikazan v baročnem slogu, z dolgi mi, na tilniku spetimi lasmi, z okoli vratu zavezanim šalom, trčetrtnskim plaščem z bogato okrašenimi zavihki in hlačami do kolen, tako da prihajajo do izraza atletska meča, ki jih je Tartini pridobil kot strasten sabljač. Spomenik naravnost (po)vabi gledalca, da gre okoli njega. S hojo okrog spomenika se okrog gledalca zavrti tudi vsa arhitektura, ki obkroža trg, in tako se kot v vrtincu s središčem v spomeniku zavrti vse mesto. Ali kot je zapisala /dr./ Sonja Žitko: »S svojo prijetno teatraliko rokokojske figurine spreminja trg v gledališki prostor, sebe pa v igralca na odru – iluzija, ki jo je bil sposoben ustvariti zreli pozni historizem.« Spomenik z domišljeno postavitvijo obvladuje trg in ga prostorsko povezuje s kompleksom ž. c. sv. Jurija, ki sicer dominira nad mestom. Nazadnje so kip s podstavkom in ograjo restavriral leta 2016.

S to knjigo, že drugo z navdihom velikega piranskega glasbenika,⁸ naš Pomorski muzej, skrbnik Tartinijeve dediščine v Piranu, nadaljuje s popularizacijo Tartinijevega lika in opusa interdisciplinarno in multidisciplinarno ter vseh, ki so ga znali in ga še znajo primerno ovrednotiti ter v prizadevanja vključiti celotno skupnost. Te prireditve in spomini pa se letos še kar nadaljujejo, ne le samo v Piranu. Iz programske knjižice, ki je izšla prav za to priložnost naj v času od 5. feb. 2020 pa do 12. feb. 2021 lahko naštejemo čez 50 prireditev, mdr. tudi mednarodni muzikološki simpozij (Ljubljana-Piran, 16.–17. nov. 2020) z naslovom *V iskanju popolne harmonije: Tartinijeva glasba in glasbena teorija v lokalnem in evropskem okviru*. Omenjena knjiga (17 €) je z vsega 155 str. le predtakt vsemu temu. Tudi likovno bogato opremljeno delo se pne od uvodnih (dveh posvetil) C. Scimoneju in spomeniku (G. Tartiniju in A. d. Zötto), prek ponosa Pirana (Franco Juri), uvoda (D. Žitko), Tartinijevega trga, razmer v drugi polovici 19. stol., od mandrača do Tartinijevega trga, dojemanja med letoma 1888 in 1893, dogajanj med letoma 1894 in 1895, odkritja Tartinijevega spomenika v Piranu 2. avg. 1896, A. d. Zötta, konservatorijskega načrta, razstave, časopisnih člankov in do zaključnega popisa oz. informacij o objavljenih fotografijah in literaturi (vse D. Žitko).

Za knjigo so (izdajatelj Pomorski muzej »S. Mašera« Piran; zanj Franco Juri) poleg avtorice D. Žitko še



najbolj zaslužni: lektor (in prevajalec v angleški jezik) Henrik Ciglič, prevajalca (F. Juri in Ivan Markovič; v italijanski jezik), (številni) avtorji in lastniki fotografij (teh nam je uspelo naštetih kar nekaj čez 90). Digitalizacijo sta prispevala Veronika Bjelica in Natalie Fink, oblikovanje Duška Đukić, tisk pa je za tisoč izvodov opravila EUROGRAFIS, d.o.o.

Franc Križnar

Ivo Goldstein:

JASENOVAC. Zagreb, Fraktura, 2018,
962 pagine.

Goldstein è trasparente, nella conclusione dell'opera, nel descrivere le motivazioni che l'hanno spinto alla scrittura, ovvero che

il fine di questo libro è prosciugare lo spazio a disposizione delle menzogne su Jasenovac, come anche presentare ai lettori motivati la verità su questo campo di sterminio, dal momento

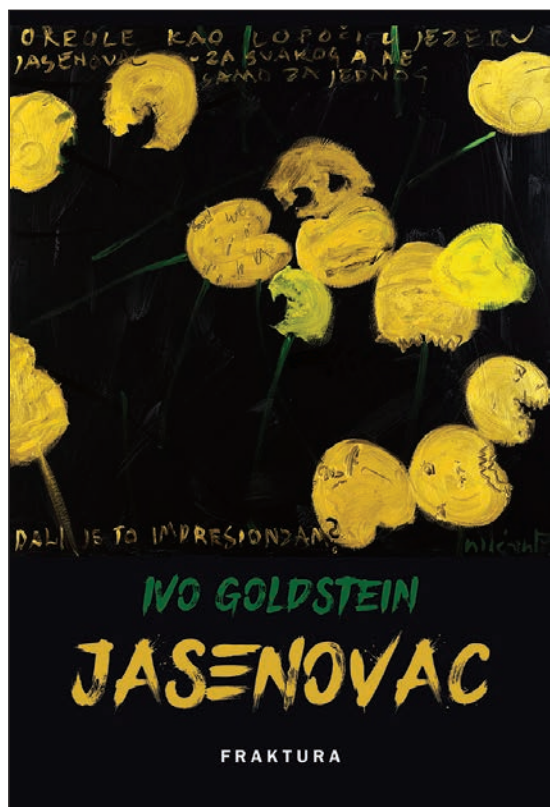
⁶ Spiralasti zavoj, polžasti okrasek v arhitekturi.

⁷ Okras na glavah korintskih in rimskih stebrov v obliki listov okrasne rastline s širokimi nazobčanimi listi.

⁸ Žitko D., *G. TARTINI 1692–1770* (Piran, 2017–2018).

che, come ha ben detto Ilija Jakovljević, in futuro nella letteratura sui campi ustaša 'non dovranno esserci invenzioni, perché neppure una fantasia di Poe o Maupassant potrebbe raggiungere ciò che qui è stato compiuto da uomini del tutto comuni' (p. 800).

In questo senso, la ponderosa opera di ricerca e riepilogo dei numerosi studi già disponibili sul principale complesso concentrazionario allestito nello Stato indipendente di Croazia (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* – NDH) viene opportunamente a fare il punto sugli studi dopo un decennio in cui sono fiorite numerose pubblicazioni, polemistiche fin dai titoli come «La menzogna di Jasenovac smascherata» o «Il mito su Jasenovac», finalizzate a ridimensionare le responsabilità storiche del regime di Pavelić. Si tratta di pubblicazioni che, prescindendo da un esame critico delle fonti, si concentrano su testimonianze aneddotiche di relativa mitezza delle condizioni di prigionia e rigettano la storiografia del periodo comunista come quella prodotta dagli ambienti collegati alle vittime accusandola di politicizzazione. Questi atteggiamenti, inoltre, hanno innescato all'interno delle istituzioni croate una serie di gravi conflitti, il cui sintomo più evidente è il rifiuto delle associazioni delle vittime a prender parte alle commemorazioni istituzionali ufficiali a Jasenovac.



Goldstein, già occupatosi dell'argomento in varie occasioni sia da solo che assieme al padre Slavko, con questa consistente monografia aggiorna i contributi effettuati finora e giunge ad un'ottima sintesi tra materiali d'archivio – tra cui sono preminenti quelli di provenienza ustaša conservati all'Archivio nazionale di Croazia (HDA) –, l'abbondante letteratura scientifica già disponibile sul tema, opere memorialistiche e testimonianze dirette. Rispetto a queste ultime due categorie, preme rilevare che l'autore vi si approcci con grande scrupolo, incrociandole sempre con altre fonti e segnalando eventuali incongruenze.

L'opera è organizzata attorno a dieci nuclei tematici. Dopo una lunga introduzione, che funge anche da nota metodologica, si affrontano i preparativi effettuati dal regime di Pavelić, a livello istituzionale e pratico, per la costruzione del campo. Segue una dettagliata descrizione delle strutture, specificità e funzionalità della cinque unità che formarono il complesso concentrazionario di Jasenovac, tra cui quella di Stara Gradiška. A partire dalla quarta sezione, «affrontare il terrore di Jasenovac», vengono descritte le cause e modalità di deportazione delle vittime e le condizioni di inserimento nel campo. La quinta sezione, di oltre ottanta pagine, descrive quindi dettagliatamente le varie categorie di prigionieri, da coloro i quali vennero deportati per motivazioni etniche – ebrei, serbi e rom – agli associati alle varie strutture del Partito comunista jugoslavo, fino agli oppositori politici non comunisti (esponenti della vita politica croata prebellica di cui il più insigne fu Vladko Maček) che poterono godere di un trattamento privilegiato. Il consistente sesto nucleo, «tortura, uccisione, morte» affronta le varie modalità, spesso efferatissime, di eliminazione fisica dei prigionieri, le relative strutture e logiche sottostanti, come anche le modalità di liquidazione dei cadaveri, tra cui l'utilizzo del «forno di Picilli», un rudimentale crematorio attivo per alcuni mesi all'inizio del 1942. In questa sezione trovano anche spazio, nel capitolo «Gerarchia criminale» (p. 368) le biografie delle principali personalità coinvolte nel funzionamento del campo.

La settima sezione, «cronologia dei crimini», affronta i principali eventi che hanno scandito l'amministrazione del complesso concentrazionario, tra cui, nel febbraio 1942, la visita della commissione formata da delegati tedeschi, italiani, ungheresi e della Francia di Vichy (pp. 500–504) e l'internamento di quote crescenti di popolazione serba man mano che gli Ustaša rispondevano alla crescente attività partigiana nel territorio della NDH deportando, con maggiore intensità a partire dal 1943, la popolazione di interi paesi. Una sezione apposita trae l'abbrivio dall'allontanamento di Maks Luburić, capo del III° ufficio del Servizio di sorveglianza Ustaša deputato al controllo di tutti i campi di concentramento dell'NDH, per descrivere il relativo miglioramento delle condizioni di vita dei prigionieri tra la fine

del 1942 e l'aprile 1944, allorché l'influenza di Luburić riprese a crescere. Dal momento che proprio al periodo in questione, in cui nel campo si disputarono tra le altre cose partite di calcio e vennero organizzate presentazioni teatrali, risalgono le evidenze aneddotiche che vengono presentate dai polemisti per negare la portata di quanto avvenuto a Jasenovac, il lavoro di inquadramento e spiegazione svolto da Goldstein riveste grande importanza. La nona sezione, intitolata »Jasenovac e il mondo all'infuori del campo« ricostruisce, in linea con le più recenti tendenze della storiografia di genere, sia le reti organizzate dai prigionieri per ottenere informazioni dal mondo esterno che la percezione del campo all'estero, e in particolare in Vaticano. La decima sezione, quella conclusiva, oltre a descrivere la liquidazione del campo nell'aprile 1945 e la fuga dei prigionieri superstiti il giorno 22 di quel mese raccoglie una serie di brevi biografie (67) di vittime.

L'opera di Goldstein, complessa quanto ricca, oltre che coraggiosa, non rinuncia ad affrontare quegli elementi della storia di Jasenovac che, nel dibattito pubblico, hanno causato maggiore criticità. Anzitutto il ruolo della Chiesa cattolica croata e quello personale dell'Arcivescovo di Zagabria Alojzije Viktor Stepinac, rispetto al quale l'autore, aggiornando il giudizio espresso a suo tempo dal padre Slavko che

aveva attribuito al prelato un certo coraggio, scrive che »il coraggio l'arcivescovo Stepinac l'ha mostrato in maniera molto più coerente e chiara dopo il maggio 1945 che prima«, riferendosi all'opposizione al regime comunista. Un'altra delicata questione affrontata in maniera ineccepibile è quella relativa al numero delle vittime. Il fatto che nel periodo socialista esso fosse convenzionalmente fissato nella cifra esagerata di 800.000 ha infatti finito per costituire un ostacolo alla ricerca. In un paragrafo espressamente dedicato a questo annoso problema (p. 772), Goldstein parte dalle 81.998 vittime registrate nominalmente nel 2011 dall'Ente pubblico area memoriale (JUSP) di Jasenovac per concludere che, sebbene la lista »non sarà mai definitiva«, a perdere la propria vita a Jasenovac furono tra le 90.000 e le 100.000 persone.

In conclusione, l'ampio volume di Goldstein si propone, con l'impressionante mole di dati e fonti impiegate e una rimarchevole complessità strutturale, come pubblicazione esaustiva sulla tragedia di Jasenovac, pietra angolare degli studi utile smentire le tesi pretestuose che hanno ripreso a circolare negli ultimi anni.

Federico Tenca Montini

KAZALO K SLIKAM NA OVITKU

SLIKA NA NASLOVNICI: *Černohorská domácnost – Črnogorsko gospodinjstvo* (Jaroslav Čermák, 1865) (Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 1: *Lepa Vida* (Ilustracija: Jelka Reichman, z dovoljenjem avtorice).

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Slika 3: *Relief s svetim Filipom (ohranjena pozlata), Pokrajinski muzej Koper* (Foto: Jure Vuga).

Slika 4: *Panjska končnica* (n.d., Slovenski etnografski muzej).

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Slika 6: *Černohorský glavar – Črnogorski glavar* (Jaroslav Čermák, 1865) (Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 7: *Andriolo de Santi, nagrobnik Ubentina da Carrara, Eremitani, Padova* (Wikimedia Commons).

Slika 8: *Ena izmed štirih fial z evengalistom Luko in napisom S. LVCAS, ki je nekoč stala na vrhu ciborija koprskes stolnice* (Foto: Jure Vuga).

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Slika 10: *Samostan v Cetinjah* (Wikimedia Commons).

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Figure 2: *Andriolo de Santi, tombstone of Jacopo II da Carrara with the Petrarca epitaph, Eremitani, Padova* (Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 3: *Relief with St. Philip (preserved gilding), Koper Regional Museum* (Photo: Jure Vuga).

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Figure 5: *Stone ladder between vineyard terraces in Morgex area* (Source: IAR, Aosta).

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Figure 7: *Andriolo de Santi, tombstone of Ubertino da Carrara, Eremitani, Padova* (Wikimedia Commons).

Figure 8: *One of the four »fialae« with the evangelist Luke and the inscription S. LVCAS which one stood on the top of the ciborium in the Koper cathedral* (Photo: Jure Vuga).

Figure 9: *The present state of conservation of the fragments of two of the four arches pertaining to the ciborium, built in the wall of the museum Lapidary* (Photo: Jure Vuga).

Figure 10: *Cetinje monastery* (Wikimedia Commons).

